

### **Root extension and root formation in Semitic and Afrasian**

There are many understudied and even unnoticed cases of root extension, including a very common phenomenon of triconsonantization, and fossilized formants in Semitic, to say nothing of other Afrasian branches. Investigating this delicate field involves much risk of arbitrary conclusions (of which Ehr OTC is a salient example). To reduce the risk, I chose to adhere to the following principles in singling out and classifying these cases:

(1) A consonantal element (I intentionally leave aside the problem of an accompanying vocalic element) in Semitic and other Afrasian is classified as a "triconsonantizer" on the ground of comparison of a triconsonantal root containing this element with a synonymous or semantically compatible biconsonantal root without this element in the same or related language(s); a special, less verifiable case is that of two or more triconsonantal roots containing different presumed triconsonantizers in the absence of a corresponding biconsonantal base (I treat roots whose second and third radicals are identical as essentially biconsonantal) root attested in any of the related languages (thus "attested" in the reconstructed form only). Though a triconsonantal root may show certain meaning difference from its biconsonantal match, a triconsonantizer has no semantic value of its own and does not cause any regular meaning shift. Formally, any consonant may be classified as a triconsonantizer in a broader sense, if it meets the above conditions. However, I prefer to classify as triconsonantizers in Semitic and, most probably, other Afrasian languages only the following consonants: *w*, *y*, *? (and, with hesitations, much less common *t*, *? and *h*)*. All of them occur in the An-, In- and Auslaut position.*

(2) A consonantal element may be classified as a fossilized formant (or a class marker?) on the ground of comparison of the root containing this element with another root in the same or related language(s), lacking the element in question, provided the additional relational (grammatical) or derivational (lexical) meaning brought about by the affixation of this element is ascertained by a series of such comparisons; the reliability of this classification is in direct proportion to a number of series presented and a transparency and regularity of the meaning shift caused by the affixation. Part, but not all, of the hypothetic fossilized formants is represented by the same consonants that otherwise function as productive or commonly recognized affixes in Semitic and some other Afrasian languages. The potential fossilized formants (still in the process of being revealed and confirmed by more data) are at present as follows: *m*, *n*, *t*, *r*, *l*, *? h*, *b* and *k* (as for *h*, a presumed suffix denoting body-parts, v. Takacs). Theoretically, any consonant can prove to be a fossilized formant, but I doubt the above list may be considerably expanded). Usually fossilized formants occur in the An- and Auslaut position, but sometimes also in the Inlaut, which in some cases may be a result of a secondary metathesis caused by their low compatibility or full incompatibility with the primary base root's consonants.

(3) "Root extenders" (RE) is a conventional name that may be given to consonantal elements which are singled out in the same way as the two above types but for this or that reason cannot be

classified with any of them. Some of such elements formally coincide with "triconsonantizers" (*w*, *y*, *?/?*, *h* and *t*), but serve to extend not biconsonantal but tri- or more consonantal roots; for others no relational or derivational meaning can be demonstrated so far; finally, there are cases when an "added" consonantal element cannot be classified as a regular affix for the only reason that the regular affix serves to derive *deverbal* nouns while its homonym in question is used to derive a *denominal* noun, e.g.: Arb. *minhar-* 'narine, nez' (not a deverbal noun *<\*nhr* 'to snore' attested in Akk. and Gez. but not in Arb.) vs. *nuhrat-, nuharat-* 'nostril' or Arb. Dat. *mahbalah* 'utérus' (at first glance may be taken for a deverbal noun of place, but no corresponding verb is attested in Arb.; rather to be understood as 'a place for foetus') vs. Arb. *ħabal-* 'foetus'.

Since numerous cases of triconsonantization in Semitic are more obvious, better studied and pose no grave problem, the data to follow consist of examples of root extension (tentatively included are also certain cases of the "weak" consonants extending biconsonantal roots but which, for this or that reason, I prefer not to treat as triconsonantizers). Among them, only a few cases of infixation and suffixation of *r* seem to show a certain semantic regularity suggesting that *r* might be regarded as a fossilized formant or class marker imparting the meaning 'large, many/much'. Hopefully, further accumulation of data and their deeper analysis may expand the opportunities of reclassifying some of the "root extenders" into fossilized formants. It would not be realistic, however, to expect too much from this direction of research. The vast majority of root extention instances may ever remain unexplained otherwise than by analogy, or contamination, but this is a far more difficult task as every case of contamination will require a student an "individual approach", i. e. the revealing of a concrete form, the "contaminant", that once served a sample for the analogy. Another problem deserving a future study is what consonants falling into the category of RE occur as productive affixes in any of the Afrasian languages and whether their function in this capacity may throw light on a semantic value of the same consonantal elements assumed to be RE in the same or other Afrasian languages.

One more question, of a purely theoretical nature not to be discussed here, is whether root extension may be regarded as a phenomenon of a secondary "root formation". As far as I understand, an "orthodox" viewpoint of a comparative linguist - strongly asserted, for instance, by such an unquestionable authority as Aharon Dolgopolsky - is that such a phenomenon does not exist at all except for few exotic cases like proper names becoming appellatives (e. g. *gas*).

Some of the RE proposed below have been touched upon in several earlier studies (see references under corresponding headings) but usually briefly and with no sufficient examples supported by convincing etymologies, which is an indispensable precondition of a serious study in these and similar matters. The most daring attempt to reveal traces of root extenders in Semitic and treat them as relics of class markers was made by N. V. Yushmanov (Yush 170-181); though this attempt can hardly be viewed as successful for the same reason of limiting the argumentation to Arabic chiefly, I would not, however, rule out a possibility of future discoveries in the direction outlined by his theory taking into consideration Yushmanov's intuition of a genius. Worth mentioning is also CHVAL (and HCVA, its slightly updated English version) where many more consonants than in the present contribution are treated as "compliments" without ascribing them

any specific meanings; though, by definition, etymologies/comparative data were adduced, after 20-25 years that have passed since publication of the three issues of this collective study headed by Igor Diakonoff and which the present author was part of, some of the comparisons seem far-fetched or even outright wrong, while others are worth consideration if not for lack of references, a lamentable fashion with Afrasian linguistics.

Before turning to the examples of supposed root extension, I would like to stress that the present study does not claim to be anything more than an empirical collection of etymology-based data, hopefully to be helpful for a more systematic and explicit analysis in perspective. Since the data had to be arranged according to some principle -- and a certain order of languages, quite formal though, was chosen (see below) -- other principles of their structuring had to be ignored, hence an inevitable heterogeneity and lack of order in many aspects. Thus, the difference between nominal and verbal roots is not taken into consideration, i.e. examples of both types of roots are quoted indiscrimately (verbal roots occur in the Anatomy and Varia sections). The same is true of adducing RE on a par with what may be productive affixes in less studied African Afrasian languages. Examples quoted below are also heterogeneous in what concerns a number of root consonants, i.e. from the point of view of their formal reliability: postulating a fourth consonant as a root extender by comparing a quadri- and a triconsonantal root is naturally more convincing than ascribing it to a third radical by comparing a tri- and a biconsonantal root; however, comparisons of the latter type are also included for the same reason--a risk of losing potentially pertinent cases because of puristic self-confidence seems to me less justifiable than that of including several cast-offs. Finally, examples well compatible semantically were included on a par with quite debatable and even questionable comparisons; this is done deliberately because until the additional meaning brought about by the presumed affixation of this or that RE is established, the comparison limited by identical or similar meaning leads a student into a kind of deadlock while a wider choice of forms to compare, on the contrary, gives a chance to reveal repeated meaning shifts which is worth a risk of finally rejecting some percentage of comparisons as rubbish.

The data are arranged in the following way: first come prefixed REs, then infix and finally suffixed ones. The first part of each entry contains form(s) with a hypothetic root extender and the second part, after vs. (versus), contains matches without this root extender implying that the second part usually though not always represents, in the author's view, a primary "base" root and the first part represents a derived root; in certain cases, however, especially when the first part is represented by a much wider scope of languages than the second (say, a Common Semitic root containing *\*-m* in the Auslaut vs. an Arabic root without it) a secondary apocope of an original radical cannot be excluded. Since most of the examples are quoted, sometimes updated, after the two volumes of the Semitic Etymological Dictionary (whence the headings, which represent Semitic protoforms, are quoted in bold type letters), they are divided into three sections: animal names after SED II, anatomy after SED I and varia (semantically diverse examples collected by the author with a focus on agricultural terms and items from the "Swadesh's" 100-word list whenever pertinent). This division is justified not only by the fact that the anatomic, faunal, agricultural or "basic" (in the lexicostatistical method's sense) lexicons are better studies and more

familiar to the author, but also because the above-mentioned choice helps avoid a temptation of taking premature results for granted: thus, if *-n* claimed to be a class marker of body parts (Dietrich, Yushmanov, v. in Yush 177) is widely attested as a suffixed element in animal names or a non-anatomic "basic" lexicon, the anatomic hypothesis needs a more cautious treatment.

Within each section, first come examples of this or that RE in individual Semitic languages in the following order: Akk., Ugr., Hbr., Pho., Arm., Arb., Sab., Eth., MSA; then come examples of Common or Proto-Semitic RE; then of RE in non-Semitic Afrasian in the following order: Egyptian, Berber, Chadic, Cushitic, Omotic; and, finally, of Common Afrasian RE.

It goes without saying that some five hundred cases of presumed root extention presented below are only "top of the iceberg" and can, at least for some of root extenders, be *ad libitum* multiplied both in Semitic and other Afrasian.

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Abbreviations of languages and language periods:

Afras. - Afrasian (Afroasiatic, Semito-Hamitic); Akk. - Akkadian; Amh. - Amharic; Anc. - Ancient; Arb. - Arabic; Arg. - Argobba; Arm. - Aramaic; BD - Book of the Dead; Bib. - Biblical Aramaic; Brb - Berber; C. - Central; Cha. - Chaha; Chad. - Chadic; Copt. - Coptic; Cush. - Cushitic; Dat. - Datina Arabic; Dem. - Demotic; Dof. - Dofar Arabic; Dyn. - Dynasty; E. - East; Ebl. - Eblaite; Egyp. - Egyptian; Emp. - Empire; End. - Endegen; Enn. - Ennemor; Eth. - Ethiopian; Gaf. - Gafat; Gez. - Geez; Gog. - Gogot; Gr. - Greek period; Gur. - Gurage; Gye. - Gyeto; Har. - Harari; Hbr. - Hebrew; Hrs. - Harsusi; Jib - Jibbali; Jud. - Judaic Aramaic; lex. - Lexical Texts; Ma'l. - Ma'lula; Med. - Medical Texts; Mhr. - Mehri; MK - Middle Kingdom; Mnd. - Mandaic; Mod. - Modern; MSA - Modern South Arabian; Msq. - Masqan; Min. - Minean; Muh. - Muher; N. - North; Nab. - Nabatean; NK - New Kingdom; OAkk. - Old Akkadian; OAss. - Old Assyrian; OB - Old Babylonian; Off. - Official Aramaic; OK - Old Kingdom; Omot - Omotic; P - Proto; Pal. - Palestinian Aramaic; pB. - post-Biblical; Pho. - Phoenician; Pyr. - Pyramid Texts; S. - South; Sab. - Sabaic, Sam. - Samaritan, SB - Standard Babylonian, Sel. - Selti; Sem. - Semitic; Sod. - Soddo; Soq. - Soqotri; Sum. - Sumerian, Syr. - Syrian Aramaic; Tgr. - Tigre; Tna. - Tigrinya (Tigrai); Tur. - Turoyo (Neo-Aramaic); Ugr. - Ugaritic; W. - West; Won. - Wolane; Yem. - Yemenite Arabic; Zw. - Zwei.

Conventions:

[] marks the beginning of every entry focusing on Semitic data

<> marks the beginning of every entry focusing on Afrasian data

### **Consonantal Prefixation**

**mV-** (cf. Barth 233-73, GVG 375-82)

## Animal names:

[] Akk. *mīrānu* (*mūrānu*) 'young dog, puppy; cub of a wild animal' vs. Ugr. *?irn* 'puppy, puppy-dog' (in \***PVian**- ~ \***PVnar**- 'small predatory animal' SED II No. 8). [] Arb. *minhas-* vs. *nahhās-*, *nahūs-* 'lion' in \***nVhVs-** 'lion' (SED II No. 159). [] Gez. *māñənak*, *māñnök* 'turtledove, locust-eating crane' (with the *?* ~ *?* variation) vs. *?anke*, *?anket* 'hawk, kite' < \***?an(V)k-** 'a bird of prey' (SED II No. 6). [] Wol. *mofän*, Sel. *mōfän*, Sod. *mofen*, *mofän* vs. Muh. Msq. Gog. *wäfen* < \***yapan-** 'young bull' (SED II No. 250). [] Jib. *mayzel* 'big flock (of goats, sheep)' (JJ 92) vs. Sem. \***yVzäl-** 'gazelle' (SED II No. 92; cf. metathetic Brb. \*-za/ulay- 'goat, sheep': Nefusa *zaløy* 'belier', Ahaggar *a-hulay*, Ayr *azulay* 'bouc' ibid.); [] Soq. *mibkeroh* 'jeune chamele' vs. *békər* 'animal with one young only' (JJ 25, not in LS), Mhr. *bökər* 'young female camel' < \***bVkVh(-at)-** 'young (she-)camel' (SED II No. 56). [] Sem. \***ma/iʃ(a)z-** 'goat': Arb. *maʃz*, Min. *mʃzy*, etc. (SED II No. 148) vs. \***?Vhz-** id.: Ugr. *ʃz*, Arb. *ʃanz(-at)-*, Sab. *ʃnz*, etc. (SED II No. 35).

## Anatomy:

[] Akk. *neşbettu* (*n-* is very likely <\**m-*) vs. \***sibʃ-(at)-**, \***TVsbaʃ-** 'finger': Ugr. *?uṣbʃ*, Hbr. *ṭäṣbaʃ*, Syr. *sebʃā*, etc. (SED I No. 256). [] Hbr. *mətalləʃöt* vs. \***TWj-** 'jaw': Jud. Syr. *lōʃā*, Mhr. *lyən̄n*, etc. (perhaps also Hbr. *lōʃ* 'gullet or jaw' SED I No. 177). [] Hbr. *malkōhayim* (dual; met.) 'gums' vs. \***halk-**, \***halkū/um** 'Adam's apple, throat': Arb. *halk-* 'gosier, gorge', Gez. *həlk* 'throat, gullet, palate', etc. (SED I No. 117). [] Syr. *marbəʃā* 'uterus', Mnd. *marba* 'womb, uterus' (<*ma-rbaʃ-*) vs. \***ruabs-** 'womb, uterus': Akk. *rubaʃu*, etc. (SED I No. 226). [] Arb. *mkn* 'av. des oeufs, é. oeuvé', *makn-* 'oeufs des reptiles et des insectes', *makinat-* 'oeufs (d')oiseaux, de lézard, de sauterelle, etc.; nid d'oiseau' (BK 2 1139) vs. *wkn* 'couver ses oeufs', *?awkun-*, *wukunāt-* 'nid (d')oiseau' (ibid. 1600), *?uknat-* 'nid d'oiseau' (ibid. 1 44) < Afras. \**?a-wkin-* 'egg': W. Chad. Diri *akin* (Sk NB 19), E. Cush. Somali (Benadir) *?ukun*, *ukkan*, Rendille *ukun*, Oromo (Borana) *okokan*, N. Omot. Anfillo *keenno* (Dolg 1973 282). [] Arb. Dat. *maḥbalah* 'utérus' vs. Arb. *ħabal-* 'foetus' < \***habal-**, \***hibl-** 'foetus; umbilical cord' (SED I No. 110). [] Arb. *manħūr-* 'partie du corps autour de la clavicule' vs. *naħr-* 'clavicule et la partie du corps entre le bas du cou et le sternum' < \***nah(a)r-** 'upper part of chest': Tgr. *näħar* 'breast', Jib. *náħar* 'windpipe and lungs' (SED I No. 196). [] Arb. *maħal-*, *maħalat-* 'milieu du dos, vertèbre' vs. *ħal-* 'dos du cheval' < \***ħa/ul(I)-** 'spinal column with thigh bones': Akk. *ħallu* 'crotch, region between the thighs', Hbr. pB. *ħulyā* 'limb; vertebra of the spinal column' (SED I No. 114). [] Arb. *mišfalat-* 'gesier, jabot (d')oiseau); estomac' vs. \***s<sub>x</sub>V(n)pVI-** 'stomach (of an animal, bird)': Tgr. *šənfəlla* 'one of ruminant's four stomachs', Jib. *šɔfəl* 'belly', etc. (SED I No. 271). [] Gez. *mazrāʃt*, Tgr. *mäzrəʃt*, Tna *mäzraʃti* 'shoulder' vs. \***dVrāʃ-** 'arm': Ugr. *drʃ*, Arb. *dirāʃ-* (also Tgr. *zäraʃ* unless an Arabism; SED I No. 65). [] Gez. (met.) *matkaf*, *matkaft* 'shoulder, shoulder blade', Tgr. *mäktäf* 'shoulder' vs. Hbr. *kātēp*, Arb. *katif-*, etc. < \***kat(a/i)p-** '(back of) shoulder, shoulder blade' (SED I No. 154). [] Tgr. *märkäb* 'shoulder-joint' vs. Gez. *rākub* 'shoulder blade' < \***rVk(u)b-at-** 'knee': Arb. *rukbat-*, etc. (SED I No. 232). [] S. Eth. \***mankurt**: Amh. *mankurt* 'Adam's apple, larynx', Zway *mankurt*, Goggot *mankurt*, Soddo *mankur* 'goitre' vs. Eth. \**?/?ankar* 'throat, uvula, neck': Gez. *?anka/är* 'the interior part of the mouth, throat', Tgr. *ʃankär* 'uvula, throat', Tna. *ʃankär*

'ugola', Amh. *ankä/ar* 'uvula', Arg. *ənkərt* 'goitre, Adam's apple', Har. *ənkərti*, Msq. Gog. Sod. *ənkərt* 'goitre'. [] Jib. *məžrēš*, Soq. *mázrəh* 'molar tooth' (<\*ma-ṣ̫rVš) vs. **\*ṣ̫is̫-**: Arb. *dīrs-*, Gez. *dərs*, etc. (SED I No. 275). [] Mhr. *mənsōb*, Hrs. *mensōb*, Jib. *məsōt*, Soq. *mənsub* vs. Soq. *?ənsöb*, Arb. *?isb-*, etc. <**\*š/sVb-, \*PVš/sVb-** 'pubic hair' (SED I No. 239). [] Hrs. *mešhawt* 'armpit' vs. Jib. *šhot*, Soq. *šhoh* < **\*šahw(y)-at-** 'armpit': Jud. *šahātā*, etc. (SED I No. 240). [] Soq. *míkṣeh* 'articulation, falangue' vs. Arb. *kaṣāṣ-*, etc. 'endroit du derrière de la tête où les cheveux finissent; endroit de la poitrine où les côtes se rencontrent', Amh. *kəṭay* 'joint of foot', etc. <**\*k(w)ays-**, **\*k(w)ass-** 'joint, point of connection between bones' (SED I No. 172). [] Soq. *maŋgəboh* 'fesse' vs. Hbr. pB. *ṭagābā* 'rump, buttocks', Arb. *ṭaʒb-* 'l'os sacrum' <**\*ṭagb-** 'rump, buttocks' (SED I No. 13). [] (?) Soq. *mónheş* 'reins, hanche' < \*mV-nh Vṣ (met.) vs. **\*hamn̪s-** 'waist': Akk. *hanṣātu* (pl. t.) 'part of human body, possibly waist', Arb. *?ahmaṣ-* 'milieu du corps' (SED I No. 132). [] Sem. (Aram.-Arb.) **\*mVnhar-** 'nose': Arm. Dem. *mn̪hr* and Maŋl. *manhra* (unless < Arb.) 'nose', Arb. *minhar-* 'narine, nez' (hardly < \*nhr 'to snore' attested in Akk. and Gez. but not in Arb.) vs. **\*nahīr-** 'nostril': Akk. *nahīru*, Arb. *nuhrat-, nuharat-* id., etc. (SED I No. 198). [] Sem. **\*mVsVraŋ-**: Akk. *mešrētu* (pl. t.) 'limbs', Soq. *mesərāŋ* 'tendon d'Achille' vs. Sem. **\*sVry/w̪i-, \*sVry/w̪-an-** '(Achilles') tendon; sinew, muscle (of leg)': Akk. *šer?ānu* 'sinew, tendon, muscle', Jib. *šərín* 'muscles of the back', etc. (SED I No. 268). [] Sem. **\*malah-**: Gez. *maltāḥt* 'cheek, jaw', Tna. *mäta/ələh* 'temple', *mäṭaläḥti* 'the upper forepart of the skull', Mhr. *məlhāw* 'jaw, molar tooth', Hrs. *meleħaw* 'side of the jaw', Jib. *məžħēt* 'jaw', Soq. *malāhi* 'cheek' vs. **\*lih(a)y(at)-** 'cheek, jaw': Tgr. *ləħe* 'jaw, molar tooth', Mhr. *lēħī* 'jaw', Hbr. *ləħī* 'chin, jawbone, cheek', etc. (SED I No. 178). [] Sem. **\*maprak-**: Hbr. *mapräkät* 'neck', Jib. *məfrɔk* 'hairline (in women)' vs. **\*pi/ak̪-at-, \*pi/akr̪-at-** 'neck, vertebra, occiput': Jud. *pwrkh* 'neck', Soq. *fikeriroh* 'cou, nuque' (SED I No. 219).

#### Varia:

[] Arb. *mhr* 'labourer (la terre)' (Belot 659; only 'fendre, sillonner l'eau' in BK 2 1072, 'to plough the waves' in Pen 137) vs. Akk. *harāru* 'to dig with a hoe' (also 'to groove' CAD *H* 91); for a possible etymology of the Akk. verb cf. LGz 265 (comparison problematic in view of a variety of meanings of both verbs). [] Gez. *makala*, *makkola* (acc. to LGz 339, for *makkʷala*, a secondary derivation with *m-* prefixed) 'to cut with a sickle, mow', Tna. *mäkälä* 'to mow, cut', Tgr. *mäklay* 'halm of durra, halm of corn' vs. Gez. *kʷālawā* 'to reap, mow' (cf. also Amh. *kəlkəl* 'pasture') < Sem.: Akk. *ukullū* 'Viehfutter; Verpflegung(sration), Verköstigung', Arb. *kI?* 'abonder en fourrage (se dit d'un pays)', *kala?-* 'fourrage (sec ou vert)' < Afras. **\*k(w)ala?/w-** 'forage, fodder; pasture; mowing, cutting grass' (Mil Farm 145). [] Hrs. *mābayl* 'dog' (JH 14), Mhr. *mābāyl* 'owned' (*kawb mābayl* 'dog'), Soq. *məb̪həl* 'slave' (JM 41), formally a passive participle <**\*b̪l** 'to own' (lit. 'owned'); however, the verb is not present in Hrs. and Mhr. (of all MSA it is attested in the meaning 'to own' only in Jib. *baʕal* JJ 22 < Sem. **\*b̪l** 'to own', v. in HAL 142-3; in Soq. *baʕal* means 'se marier (homme ou femme)' LS 90 and semantically cannot serve a verbal base for deriving a noun *məb̪həl* 'slave') and has to be treated as a "denominal noun" from Hrs. *bāl*, *byāl* 'master, lord; possessor' (JH 14), Mhr. *bāl*, *bayli*, *bəʕēli* 'owner, possessor' (JM 41). [] Sem. **\*mkr** 'to be red': Akk. *makru* 'red', *makru* 'red spot' CAD M 138, Arb. *mkr* 'é. rouge' BK 2 1138 (cf.

also Egyp. Gr. *mkrr* 'zwischen "schwarz" und "weiss" als Farbenbezeichnung' EG II 163) vs. Afras.: Sem. Arb. *karik-* 'rouge' (BK 2 888; < \**karkVr-*, unless a loanword), Egyp. Pyr. *tr* 'das Rote' (EG V 386; < \**kVr-*). ⇔ C. Chad. Peve *məčin* 'mahogany' vs. Boka *tiñ-da*, Hona *tiñθ*, Banana *čin-da*, Masa *čin-da* 'mahogany; tamarind' < Afras. \**ti?(i)n-* 'fig-tree': Sem. Hbr. *tō?ēnā* 'fig, *ficus Carica*', Arb. *tīn-* 'figue', etc., Brb. Ahaggar *tøyne*, Taneslemt *tehøyne*, Semlal *tiyni*, etc. (Mil Farm 142).

## **nV-**

Animal names:

[] Hbr. pB. *nādāl* 'polyp, centipede', Jud. *naddal* id., Syr. *naddālā* 'scolopendra' vs. Sem. \***dMVI-** 'kind of small creature': Akk. *dālīlu*, *dallālu* 'a small animal, probably a frog', Syr. *dandālā* 'scolopendra, forticula auricularia vel millepeda', Jib. *dololet* 'kind of slow-moving snake' < Afras.: E. Chad. Dangla *dīdʒlnya* 'limace', E. Cush. Darasa *daddal?e*, Kambatta *diill-ičču*, Sidamo *dandale* 'lizard' (SED II No. 68). [] (?) Arb. *nibr-* 'teigne; mouche ou autre insecte qui incommode les chameaux et dont la piqûre cause une enflure' vs. \***bur-** 'kind of insect': Akk. \**būrtu* (in *burt/di šamhat*) 'caterpillar', Muh. *burā* 'insect that eats the root of the äsät' (SED II No. 62). [] Tgr. *näsälät* 'serpent boa', Gez. *nestāli*, *nesātāli* 'serpent-idol of bronze; field snake' vs. Tgr. *Pashalät* 'dragon', Tna. *?asälät*, *Pashalät* 'mythical creature, like a crocodile in appearance; python', Syr. *?ātalyā* 'draco' < Sem. \***?at(h)al-** 'a mythical reptile, dragon' < Afras. \**?ač(h)al-* ~ \**ča?al-* ~ \**haylač-* 'a large reptile': Brb. \**HaššVI-* '(large) snake' (Ghat *ašil*, Ahaggar *āšcl*, etc.), S. Cush. Dahalo *ta?ala* 'puff-adder', N. Omot. Gemu *haylašo*, S. Omot. Ari *hayleša* 'crocodile', etc. (SED II No. 20). [] Sem. \***nVsVr-** 'kind of bird': Jud. *nəkīrā* 'name of small birds (pickers)', Arb. *nakķār-* 'sorte d'oiseau du genre des passereaux', etc. (SED II No. 162) vs. Sem. \***k(w)āni?y-** // \***kāni?y-** 'kind of bird, partridge': Jud. *kōrē?ā*, Arb. *kāriy-at-*, etc. (SED II No. 134). [] Sem. \***nVsVr-** 'cricket': Hbr. pB. *nēṣär*, Syr. *nāṣorā*, etc. (SED II No. 167) vs. \***sarsaṭir-** 'cricket': Akk. *ṣarṣaru*, Hbr. pB. *ṣarṣūr*, *ṣarṣūrā*, etc. (ibid. No. 213). [] Sem. \***nāmir-** 'leopard': Akk. *nimru*, Hbr. *nāmēr*, etc. vs. Afras. \**ma/ur-* 'large feline': W. Chad. Dera *muumuru* 'cheetah', C. Chad. Lame-Peve *mereo* 'cat', Zime *mičr* 'genette', E. Cush. Oromo *morre* 'zibetto' (Thiene 153), S. Cush. Gorowa *mariri-ka* 'leopard', Asa *mer-ok* 'lion', etc. (SED II No. 164). [] Sem. \***na(y)al-** 'a wild hoofed animal': Akk. *nayalu* (*nālu*) 'roe deer', Tna. *nəyala* 'mountain antelope', etc. (SED II No. 169) vs. Sem. \***?ayyal-** 'stag, deer': Akk. *ayalu*, Hbr. *?ayyāl*, etc. < Afras. \**?ayVI-* 'stag; kind of antelope': E. Chad. Lele *ol*, Kabalai *yile* 'duiker', E. Cush. Somali *eelo* 'tipo de gazella (antilope giraffa)', S. Cush. Dahalo *?ēle* 'hartebeest', etc. (ibid. No. 25).

Anatomy:

[] Sem. \***nšp** 'to blow': Akk. *našāpu*, Hbr. *nšp*, Jud. *nəšap*, etc. (SED I Vb. No. 51) vs. \***šwp** 'to blow, smell': Hbr. pB., Jud. *šwp*, etc. (ibid. Vb. No. 63). [] Sem. \***nps** 'to breathe': Akk. *napāšu*, Hbr. *npš*, etc. (SED I Vb. 46) vs. \***pš** id.: Akk. *pašū*, Hbr. pB. *pwš*, etc. (ibid. 56). [] Sem. \***nph/h** 'to blow, breathe, inflate': Akk. *napāhu*, Jud. *nəpah*, Arb. *nfh*, *nfh*, etc. (cf. SED I Vb. No. 45) vs. \***ph/h** 'to breathe, blow, exhale (smell)': Jud. *pwḥ*, Arb. *fḥh*, *fḥh*, etc. (ibid. No. 54); note that in all the three above pairs of matching roots, the roots with *n-* in the Anlaut are reconstructible on a

deeper level of Semitic as they occur in a wider scope of languages than those without *n-* (which may be accounted for by a morphonological process other than a prefixation of *n-*; one wonders whether it can be a secondary loss of *n-*) [] Sem. \**nkt* 'to bite': Jud. Syr. Mnd. *nkt* 'to bite' (DM 301), Arb. *nkt* 'détordre, défaire (une corde); se fourcher, etc.' (BK 2 1338), Tna. *näkäsä*, Tgr. *näkša*, Amh. *näkkäsä*, etc. (LGz 402) vs. Afras. \**kVč*: Brb. Ahaggar *əks* (Fouc 736), Taneslemt *n-əks* 'manger', Ayr *ənkəs* 'teter' (Aloj 147), C. Chad. Malgwa *kúča* 'abreissen, abbeissen' (Löhr 298), E. Cush. Sidamo *kis-* 'to bite' (HSED No. 1453; not in other available sources).

Varia:

[] Akk. *nadānu* 'to give, offer a sacrifice, etc.' (CAD N 42; rather unrelated to Sem. \**ntn*, v. below) vs. Arb. *dyn* 'préter; rétribuer' (BK 1 757), Mhr. *adyēn* 'to lend (money, supplies), to give credit' (JM 78), Jib. *edyín* id. (JJ 44), Soq. \**šedyen* caus.-refl. 's'emprunter' (LS 127; unless all MSA < Arb.) < Afras.: Egyp. Pyr. *wdn* 'opfern' (EG I 391). [] Eth. \**ndk* 'to build' (LGz 386) vs. W. Chad. \**dik-* id.: Sura Chip *dik* (<\**dik-* HSED No. 703). [] Tna. *näfärä* 'to fly', Tgr. *näfra* 'to jump, fly' (LH 346) vs. Hrs. Mhr. Soq. *fer* 'to fly, jump' (JH 33), Jib. *ferr* 'to fly, jump up quickly' (JJ 59) < Afras. \**pVr-* 'to fly': Brb. Nefusa *far*, Jerba *ferfer*, etc. (DRB 597-9), Egyp. Pyr. *p* 'fliegen' (EG I 494), N. Cush. Beja *fir*, *firr*, C. Cush. Bilin *fir* (RBed 81), etc. [] MSA: Mhr. *nəħāg*, Jib. *naħag* '(women) to dance; (men) to be at leisure; (children) to play; to joke with so.' (JM 291, JJ 186), Soq. *nōħog*, *nōħog* 'jouer, s'amuser' (LS 259) vs. Sem.: Hbr. *hgg* 'to walk in procession, to celebrate a pilgrim's feast, to celebrate a day', *ħag* 'procession, round dance, festival' (HAL 289), Syr. *ħaggā* 'dies festus' (Brock 213), Arb. *ħj?* 'se réjouir de quelque chose' (BK 1 379) < Afras.: Egyp. MK *ħ:g* 'sich freuen' (EG III 34; v. Mil EF 9-20). [] Hbr. Pho. Bib. Pal. *ntn* 'to give' vs. Ugr. Pho. *ytn* id. (HAL 733; DLU 543). [] Sem.: Akk. *nākīdu*, Ugr. *nkd*, Hbr. *nōkēd*, Arb. *nakkād-* 'shepherd, sheep-breeder' (HAL 720) vs. Afras. \**kVd-*: Brb. Ayr ~~@@@E!~~ W. Tawllemmet *ə-yadyad* 'troupeau de chèvres' (Aloj 65), N. Omot. Moča *qiddo* 'shepherd' (LMč 46; likely also Kafa *qidō* 'guardian' id. **ibid.**~~@@@~~); not quite reliable as the Afras. data are scarce. <> Egyp. MK *nkdd* 'schlafen' (EG II 345) vs. Pyr. *kd-t* 'Schlaf' (ibid. V 79) < Afras. \**kVd-* or \**kVt-*? Cf. S. Omot. Ongota *kaade* 'to lie down' (ST 121), *kaade* 'to sleep, lie down' (Fl Ong 56) < \**kāt-* or \**kād-* (v. also Mil Ong).

## **tV-** (cf. Barth 274-311, GVG 383-88)

Animal names:

[] Akk. *titkurru* 'dove' (in CAD L 48) vs. Tgr. *tukor* 'tourterelle' (in \***tVkur(r)-** 'kind of bird' SED II No. 226). [] Arb. *taħmūr-* 'onagre' vs. *ħimār-* 'âne; âne sauvage, onagre' < \***ħimār-** 'ass': Akk. *imēru*, Hbr. *ħamōr*, etc. (SED II No. 98). [] Arb. *ta?mūr-* 'espèce de chamois' vs. ?a/immar- 'agneau' < \***?immar-** 'lamb': Ugr. *?imr*, Hbr. *?immēr*, etc. (SED II No. 5). [] Gez. *tayfan* (*tafen*, *tefan*), Tna. *täfin* vs. Amh. *wäyfän*, Muh. Msq. Gog. *wäfen*, etc. < \***yapan-** 'young bull' (SED II No. 250). [] Sem.: Akk. *turāħu* 'Bergziegenbock, Steinbock', Syr. *ta(?)rāħā* (*tārūħā*) 'capra caucasica' vs. Akk. *arħu* 'cow', Arm. Dem. *?rh* 'cow', etc. < \***?arħ-** 'cow, heifer' (SED II No. 12). [] Gez. *tomni* 'bedbug' vs. Syr. *mənħnā* 'curculio; cynips, musca', Arb. *minanat-*, *manūnat-* 'aragnée' < \***mVn(Vn)-** 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 152). <> Cush. \**takʷil-* 'wolf': N. Cush.

Beja *tákʷla*, C. Cush. Bilin *tágʷla*, *təyʷla*, Qwara *tahʷəla*, Kemant *takwila*, Kunfäl *tuhula*, E. Cush. Saho *takla*, *tahla* (unless < C. Cush.) vs. Afras. \**kʷVI-* 'wolf, dog, fox': Brb. Ayr *ă-kulen* 'loup, loup peint (lycaon)', C. Chad. Bura-Pela *kila*, Logone *kələ* 'dog', E. Chad. Dangla *kulkó* 'cynhyene', etc. (v. in **\*kalb-** 'dog' SED II No. 115).

#### Anatomy:

[] Arb. *timtān-*, *timtīn-* 'couture des pièces qui composent la tente' vs. *matn-* 'nerf' <**\*matn-** 'sinew, tendon; nerve' (SED I No. 191; semantically tenable, though not fully reliable). [] Mhr. *təbəlōt* 'uvula; tonsil(s); tonsilitis', Hrs. *tebelōt* 'tonsil; uvula', Jib. *təbəzərōt* 'uvula' (cf. *mublōy* 'tonsil'), Soq. (Qadhub) *təblayah* 'amygdale; luette' vs. **\*balV̥y-**, **\*balV̥m-** 'pharynx, fauces': Syr. *bālaṣṭā*, Arb. *bulṣum-*, etc. (SED I No. 36). <> C. Cush. Bilin *taʔānge*, Quara *tanāgā* 'Gaumen' vs. Kemant *angī* 'palais de la bouche', likely < Afras. \**Vng-* (v. in SED I, No. 15).

#### Varia:

[] Amh. *təllək* 'grand' (Baet 486) vs. *laķä* 'grow, grow up' < Eth. \**lhk* id. < Sem. (LGz 309). <> C. Chad Fali (Bwagira) *takurm-in* 'hoe' vs. Hona *kūra*, W. Chad. Hausa *kórámē* 'long-handled hoe', Ngizim *kurəm* 'hoe' (Mil Farm 146). <> E. Cush. Dobase *takale* 'Grabstock ohne Klinge' vs. Burji *kál-te* 'shaft (of plough); small axe', Oromo Qabenna Kambatta *kal-ta* 'small axe', Baiso *kal-te* 'axe' < Cush. \**kʷal-* < Afras. \*(*?a-*)*kʷal-* or \*(*?a-*)*kawal-* 'k. of hoe, a hammer/axe-like tool, a pick-axe': Sem. Akk. *akkullu* 'a hammer-like tool, tool for field work', *kullu* 'hoe', Syr. *?akl-* 'malleus', etc., W. Chad. Hausa *kaálaɪ* 'a worn-out long-handled hoe', C. Chad. Hildi *kwulū*, etc. (Mil Farm 145-6).

#### **?V-** (cf. Barth 218-26, Zab)

##### Animal names:

[] Akk. *uplu* 'Kopflaus' vs. Sem. **\*pV̥(y)-** 'kind of insect, louse': Jud. *palyā*, 'name of a locust on palm-trees', Arb. *fāliyat-* 'sorte d'insecte semblable au scarabée', Mhr. *fəlō* 'to delouse', etc. (SED II No. 175). [] Akk. *ušummu* 'Gartenschläfer', Ebl. *u-šu-mu-um* id. vs. Akk. *šummu* id., Arb. *š̥m-* 'rat' (v. in **\*sVm-** 'kind of mouse, rat' SED II No. 214). [] Akk. *aslu* (if this reading is correct) 'young (male) sheep' vs. **\*tV̥l-** 'head of small cattle': Arb. *tilal-*, *tilāl-* 'troupe de brebis', Tgr. *səle* 'a species of goat', Mhr. *tal* 'weakly goat', etc. (SED II No. 239). [] Hbr. *?āprōāḥ*, Jud. *?āprōḥā* vs. Hbr. *pirḥāḥ* 'brood', pB. *pārah* 'young chicken', Jud. *parḥāṭā*, Syr. *pāraḥṭā* 'bird' <**\*path-** 'chick, brood' (SED II No. 179). [] Hbr. pB. *?ānākā*, Jud. *?ānkā* vs. Hbr. pB. *nəkā?*, *nākā*, Jud. *nā(?)kətā*, *nākā* <**\*nak-at-** 'she-camel' (SED II No. 161). [] Jud. *?ākroktā* vs. **\*kV̥t(V)r-** 'frog': Arb. *kirr-*, *kurr-*, Gez. *kāker*, etc. (SED II No. 137). [] Jud. *?inbā* vs. *nibbā* 'eggs of lice' <**\*nab-** ~ **\*nib(b)-** 'louse, nit': Akk. *nābu*, Syr. *nābā*, etc. (SED II No. 157). [] Arb. *?aʔwar-* 'corbeau' vs. diminutive *?uwayr-* <**\*tarwy-** ~ **\*tarw-** 'bird of prey': Akk. *erū* (*arū*) 'eagle', Jud. *?ar* 'a bird of prey', etc. (SED II No. 40). [] Arb. *?ahyal-* 'k. of falcon' vs. Hbr. *ḥōl* 'phoenix' <**\*hV̥l-** 'kind of bird' (SED II No. 107). [] S. Eth.: Gaf. *ufʷərā*, Sel. *uff*, Wol. Zw. Gog. Sod. *äfur* (all < \**?afur*; to be alternatively treated as metathetic < \**faʔur-*) vs. Har. *fūr*, End. Enn. Gyt. *fuʔur*, Cha. Eža Muh. Msq. *fur* <**\*paʔr-** 'mouse' (SED II No. 170). [] Soq. *?edbíboh* vs. Mhr. *dəbbēt*, Jib. *dəbbōt* <**\*dV̥b(V)b-** 'fly' (SED II No. 73). [] Soq. *?iʃfēroh* (to be alternatively treated as a variant root in

respect to Jib. *?eʃféröt*, Arb. *?uʃfūr-*, with ?vs. ?) vs. *ṣafiro-te* < \***sVp(p)Vr-** '(kind of) small bird': Ugr. *spr*, Hbr. *sippōr*, etc. (SED II No. 212). [] Soq. *?elheh* vs. Jib. *lē?* (pl. *lhōti*) < \***liʔ(-at)-**, **\*laʔay-at-** 'head of large cattle': Akk. *littu*, Arb. *laʔāt-*, etc. (SED II No. 142). [] Sem. **\*?VbbVI-** 'kind of bird' (SED II No. 3): Akk. *ibbiltu* 'a bird', Arb. *?abābūl-* (pl.) 'nom d'oiseaux fabuleux', Tgr. *?ambäla* 'Webervogel' vs. **\*bVI-** 'kind of small bird': Akk. *bulūlu* 'a species of crested bird', Arb. *bulbul-* 'rossignol', Tgr. *bäla* 'a small brown bird', Amh. *bullal* 'dove', etc. < Afras. **\*bVI(bVI)-** 'kind of (small) bird': Brb. Ahaggar *ă-bîbil* 'nom d'un oiseau plus grand que le pigeon', Wargla *bibelli* 'volaille quelconque', W. Chad. Hausa (dial.) *bôlô*, Ankwe *be1* 'dove', Dera *bîbil* 'swallow', etc., C. Chad.: Pizimdi *mbole-di*, E. Chad. Gabri *belu* 'dove', N. Cush. Beja *belbel* 'wilde Taube', E. Cush. Oromo *bulula* 'dove' (probably < Amh.), Sidamo *bulo?e* 'bird' (SED II No. 60). [] Sem. <**\*?a/fw(a)z-** 'goose': Ugr. *?uz*, Hbr. pB. *?āwāz*, Jud. *?awzā*, *?awāzā*, Mnd. *auaza*, Arb. *?iwazz-* vs. **\*waz(z)-** id.: Syr. *wazzā*, Arb. *wazz-* < Afras. **\*(ʔa-)waž-** 'kind of large bird; goose': Egyp. *z-t*, *zw-t* 'Ente, Gans', Brb. Igerwan *wawužž*, Izayan *wawīž*, Messiwa Ait Amran *wauž* 'perdrix', Ghadames *a-wəz(z)*, pl. *wəzz-ān* 'autruche', (?) W. Chad. Sha *?awuš* 'Vogel', Bokkos *?avuš* id. (Jung R 389; -š < \*-z devoiced in Auslaut?), E. Chad. Mokilko *?uzú* 'poulet, coq, volaille' (SED II No. 22). [] Sem. **\*?abbVk-** 'kind of bird': Jud. *?abbākā* 'large cock', Syr. *?ābakkā* 'gallus', Tgr. *?abbəkiki* 'a small bird of light-yellow colour (probably a sort of lapwing)' (< Afras.? Cf. E. Chad. Bidiya *?abūkā* 'outarde') vs. Afras. **\*bVkay-**: Sem. Syr. *bakkā* 'gallus', Egyp. Old *byk* 'Falke', Brb. Ayr E. Tawllemmet *bököt*, C. Chad. Gisiga *bokoy* 'hen', N. Omot. *bakke* 'hen, fowl', etc. (v. in SED II No.1). [] Sem. **\*?immar-** 'lamb' (< Afras.? Cf. W. Chad. Fyer *?amara* 'Widder', Sha *amará* id.) vs. Afras. **\*mar-** 'goat, ram': W. Chad. Tangale *mara* 'large castrated he-goat', Polchi Buli *maar* 'goat', Bokkos *maray* 'ram', E. Cush. Saho Afar *maruu* 'Schafbock, Widder', N. Omot. Wolaita *mara* 'offspring of sheep or goat', Male *marai*, Shinasha *meréera* 'sheep' (SED II No. 5). [] Sem. **\*?a(n)z/dar-**: Akk. *azaru* (*azzaru*) 'lynx', (?) Arb. *?azram-* 'chat', Gez. *?anzar* 'wild cat' < Afras. **\*?a(n)ʒ/ʒVr-** (to be alternatively treated as a metathesis of **\*ʒ/ʒV?Vr-**): E. Cush. Konso *aturra-ta* 'civet cat, viverra', Oromo *adurree*, Darasa Sidamo *adurre* 'cat', etc. (<**\*?adurr-** < **\*?aʒ/ʒurr-**) vs. Afras. **\*ʒ/ʒV(?V)r-**: Brb. Ahaggar *tă-hūri*, Ayr *tə-zoroy* 'hyene', W. Chad. Galambu *zərəm* 'lion', C. Chad. Buduma *zāzurma*, Bachama *žhara*, *žará*, Bata *žire*, E. Chad. Gabri *žur*, Mubi *žyúruk* 'leopard', S. Cush. Alagwa *že?ira*, Burunge *ži?erare* 'wild cat', N. Omot. Kafa *yeeroo*, *žäro* 'viverra abessinica' (SED II No. 5).

#### Anatomy:

[] Jud. *?apkōtā* 'neck', Mnd. *apkuta* 'neck, throat' vs. Mnd. *p̥kuta*, Arb. *fā?ik-* 'endroit où le cou se joint à la tête' <**\*pVk-** 'neck' (SED I No. 213). [] Arb. *?afakk-* 'endroit où les deux mâchoires se joignent' vs. *fakk-* 'charnière; jointure de deux mâchoires; partie de la bouche qui comprend la mâchoire supérieure et l'inférieure' <**\*pakk-** 'jaw': Syr. *pakkā* 'mala, bucca; maxilla', etc. (SED I No. 212). [] Eth. **\*?ag(w)ad-**: Gez. *?agadā* 'thighbone, shinbone, tibia, leg, large bone of the leg, shoulder of animal', Amh. *agäda* 'leg (of a man), hind leg (of a cow), bone of the upper arm or the shin bone', *agwäda* 'hoof, foot', Gaf. *agat* 'bras', Enn. End. *agad*, etc. 'arm above the elbow, shoulder, shoulder blade' (in **\*(ʔa-)g(w)ad-** '(part or bone of the) leg of animal' SED I No. 71) <

Afras. \**?ag(w)Vd*-: E. Cush. Oromo *agguuddoo* (also *abbuuddoo, abbuuduu*) 'thumb', Afar Saho *agadā, āgūd* (pl.) 'Arm', Sidamo *agoda* 'shoulder' vs. Sem. \**gud(gud)*-: Akk. *gudgudātu* (pl.) 'part of the lower leg of a quadruped', Tgr. *gədet* 'a piece of meat (severed from the bone); shoulder-blade' < Afras. \**gVd(Vm)*-: E. Chad. Somray *gídám* 'foot', C. Chad. Gude *gedehán* 'leg', E. Cush. Burji *gudum-a*, Hadiya *gudum-o* 'shoulder', N. Omot. Kaffa *gidō* 'ginocchio', Wolamo *gáddeea* 'leg', Kullo *gádeiya* 'foot'. [] Eth. \**?af*-: Gez. Tna. *?af*, etc. vs. Sem. \***pay-** 'mouth': Akk. *pū*, Hbr. *pā*, etc. (SED I No. 223). [] N. Eth. Gez. *?əngəd'ā* (?*əngəd'ā*) 'breast, chest', Tna. *?əngədə'ā* 'back, backbone, shoulder' vs. Arb. *nažd-* 'mamelle' (v. in \***nagd-** 'breast' SED I No. 195). [] S. Eth. \**?uras* (otherwise to be treated as metathesis <\**ra?Vš*-): Amh. *əras*, Har. *urūs* vs. Amh. *ras*, Gez. *rə?(ə)s* < \***ta?**(*i*)**š-** 'head'; Akk. *rāšu*, Arb. *ra?s-*, etc. (SED I No. 225). [] Soq. *?edmi'ā* (probably also Ebl.) vs. Mhr. *dəmāt*, Jib. *dəmə'āt* 'tear-drop' < \***dimf(-at)-** 'tear(-drop)' (SED I No. 51). [] Soq. *?ílbib* vs. Hrs. *he-lbēb*, etc. < \***libb-** 'heart' (SED I No. 174). [] Sem. \**?ibr-(at)-* 'membrum virile; (membrum, limb)': Hbr. pB. *?ēbär*, Arb. *?ibrat-*, etc. vs. Arb. Dat. *burrat* 'gland du pénis', *barbūr*, Oman *barbur* 'penis' < Afras. \**bVr-* 'membrum virile': W. Chad. Hausa *būrā*, C. Chad. Bura *bura* 'penis', etc. (SED I No. 2). [] Sem. \**?ibr-at-* (\***?i(-)bVr-at-** in SED I No. 3): Akk. *ibrētu* (pl. t.) 'radius and ulna (the two bones of the human forearm)', Hbr. pB. *?ēbär* 'limb', Syr. *?ebrā* 'membrum', Arb. *?ibrat-* 'radius; (du.) les deux phalanges du cheval' vs. Sem. \**bar(bar)*-: Amh. *bərri* 'bone above the hoof of a cow', Muh. *bärrä*, Gog. Sod. *bərrä* 'thigh', Soq. *berbēroh* 'cuisse' < Afras. \**bar(bar)*- '(bone of) leg, thigh': C. Chad. Bachama *mbwārā* 'leg', Bata-Garwa *baare* 'shin' (Bla SED 499), E. Cush. Rendille *bárbar* 'shoulder' (probably also Somali *barbar* 'side'), N. Omot. Kafa *borboroo* 'thigh', S. Omot. Ari-Jinka *bar* 'thigh, lap' (ibid.). [] Sem. \**?adam*-: Akk. *adamatu*, Hbr. *?admātō*, Jud. *?ādām*, etc. vs. \***dam-** 'blood': Akk. *damu*, Hbr. *dām*, Jud. *dəmā*, etc. (SED I No. 50) < Afras. \**dam(m)*- (cf. Bla SED 500). [] Sem. \**?Vbhān/m-* 'thumb, big toe': Akk. *ub/pānu*, Arb. *?ibhām-* vs. \**bVhā/in/m-* id.: Ebl. *ba-?a-núm/nu(-um)* /*bahānum/*, Hbr. *bōhān*, Arb. *bahīm-*, Mhr. *hābēn* (met.) (cf. \***bVhā/in-**, \***?Vbhān** SED I No. 34). [] Sem. \**?agap(p)*- 'wing': Akk. *agappu*, Hbr. pB. *?āgap* vs. \**gapp-* id.: Akk. *gappu*, Hbr. pB. *gap*, Syr. *geppā*, etc., Arb. *žff* 'agiter les ailes' (in \***gapp-**, \***?a-gapp-** 'wing' SED I No. 88). [] Sem. \**?Všba?*- 'finger': Ebl. *?išba?um*, Ugr. *?ušb?*, Hbr. *?āšba?*, Jud. *?āšbə?ā*, Arb. *?ašba?-*, Gez. *?ašbā?*(*ə*)*t*, Tna. *?ašabə?ti* (pl.), Jib. *?išba?*, Sab. *?šb?* (used to denote fractions), Soq. *?ešbah*, etc. vs. \***sibñ(-at)-** id.: Jud. *šibñā*, Min. *šb?*, Tgr. *čəbñət*, Mhr. *šəba?* (SED I No. 256) < Afras. \**čibV?*- id.: Egyp. Pyr. *db?* (EG V 562), (?) N. Omot. Hozo *zaba* (Bla SED 506). [] Sem. \**?i-šVt*-: Syr. *?eštā*, *?eštātā*, etc. 'podex, nates; fundus', Mnd. *?šta* (<\**?Všt*-) 'basis, bottom, posterior, anus, buttocks', Arb. *?ist-* (with *?alif wašlah*) 'derrière, fondement, cul', End. *ušt* 'waist', etc. vs. \***sVt**-: Hbr. *šēt*, *šətōt-* 'Gesäß, Grundlage, Funda- ment', Mnd. *šata* 'buttocks, pubic regions', Sel. *suto* 'flesh of back above the hip', Mhr. *šīt* 'backside, buttocks; anus; root', Jib. *šō* 'back, spine', Soq. *šeħ* 'parties sexuelles de la femme' (SED I No. 255). [] Sem. \**?arib(Vb)y-at*-: Arb. *?urbiyyat-* 'aine; racine de fémur', Muh. *äribä* 'abdomen below the navel, hip', Soq. *?erbéboh* 'rein, cuisse, giron, genou', etc. vs. \***rib(Vb)y-at**-: Akk. *rebītu* 'Unterleib', Amh. *reb* 'anus, buttocks', Mhr. *rəbbūt* 'groin; (knee-)cap', Soq. *rebóboh* 'genou' (SED I No. 227). [] Sem. \**?irah*- 'palm of hand': Gez. *?ərāh*, Jib. *irħħat*, Hrs. *ərhāt* (< Afras. \**?irVh*-? Cf. C.

Chad. Sukur *iri* 'arm' CLR 179) vs. \***rāh-(at)**, \***nīh-at**: Akk. *rittū*, Ugr. *r̥ht*, Arb. *rāħat-*, Tgr. *rāħat*, Mhr. *rəħāt*, Hrs. *rīħet*, Soq. *rīħoh* (SED I No. 230) < Afras. \**rayah-*: W. Chad. Kulere *riyāw*, Daffo-Butura *rá* 'hand', Bokkos *rā* 'arm', C. Chad. Mafa *rāy* 'arm' (CLR 1790. []) Sem. \**?anšVy-*: Ugr. *?anš* 'músculo, tendon', Arb. *?al-?ansā* 'muscle du bas de la jambe', Amh. *anisa* 'iliac bone', etc. vs. Sem. \***nāsy-** 'sciatic tendon/nerve': Hbr. *nāšā* (in: *gīd hannašā*), Jud. *našyā*, Arb. *nasa<sup>n</sup>* (SED I No. 201). [] Sem. \**?am̥ut-*: Akk. *amūtu* 'liver', Gez. *?amātut* 'intestine', Tna. *?am̥ut* 'intestine' vs. Sem. \***maſayw-(at)**: Akk. *mu-ú-tum* 'liver', Hbr. *mēšayim* (pl.) 'entrails, intestines', Tgr. *məšo*, *məšotay*, *məšotät* (pl. *?am̥it*) 'bowels', etc. (SED I No. 185). <> Afras. \**?ambar-*: Brb. Nefusa *anbūr* (Lao 252), Wargla *ambur* 'levre' (R Bass Mz 230), N. Cush. Beja *ambarey* (also *ambaley*) 'lip' (Bla Bed 38), E. Cush. Dasenech *?abaar* 'lip' (Tos Das 477) vs. Afras. \**mabVr-*: W. Chad. Hausa *mábáří* 'mouth' (Barg 734), N. Cush. Beja *mburoi* 'lip' (Bla Bed 38; otherwise loss of a- is an independent process in Hausa and Beja; cf. also Brb. Siwa *ambu*, pl. *mbawen* 'bouche' (Lao 204).

Varia:

[] Sem. \**?itmāl*: Hbr. *?itmōl*, *?ätmūl*, etc., Syr. *?etmāly*, Mnd. *?itmāl* 'yesterday' (HAL 103) vs. \**timāl-*: Hbr. *təmōl*, Akk. *timāli*, Gez. *təmāləm*, etc. id. (ibid. 1746). [] Sem. \**?amši(l/n)-*: Akk. *amšali* 'yesterday' (<\**?ams-al-*), Hbr. *?ämäš* 'last night, yesterday', Arb. *?amsi* 'yesterday', Soq. *?imšin* 'evening', etc. (HAL 68, LGz 368) < Afras. \**?amsVy-* (cf. also HSED No. 38): S. Cush. Iraqw *?amsi?* 'midnight', Alagwa Burunge *?amasi* 'night' (WR 55), Qwadza *amasiya* 'tomorrow' (HRSC 297), (?) N. Cush. Beja *amás* 'der späte Abend, Nacht' (RBed 19; unless < Arb.) vs. Sem. \**mVšy-*: Akk. *mūšu* 'night' (CAD M 291), Arb. *masā?-* 'soir' (BK 2 1107), *mu/isy-* id. (ibid. 1108), Gez. *məsyat* 'evening, twilight' (LGz 368), etc. < Afras. \**masy/w-*: Egyp. Pyr. *msw-t* 'Abendbrot' (EG II 142), C. Chad. Gudu *məšū* 'shadow' (HSED No. 38; unless < Arb.). [] Sem. \**?ak(u)l-*: Akk. *akkullu* (less likely *akkullu* in view of the comparative data) 'a hammer-like tool, tool for field work' (OAkk. on; acc. to AHw 30, from Sum. *gišNIN-GUL*, but more likely <\**?a-kull-*), Syr. *?aklā* 'malleus', Arb. *?aklat-* 'marteau, mailloche?' (< Afras.? Cf. Egyp. MK *iknw* 'Hacke': -n- <\*-I-?) vs. Sem. \**ka/uł-*: Akk. lex. *kullu* 'hoe', S. Arg., Har. *kalka* 'axe' (acc. to LArg 208, from E. Cush. *kalta* "with an occasional alternance *k:t*"; more likely redupl. <*\*kalkal*) < Afras. \**kʷal-* or \**kawal-* 'k. of hoe, a hammer/axe-like tool, a pick-axe': Chad. \**kawal-*, Cush. \**kʷal-*, N. Omot. \**kal(l)-* (Mil Farm 145-6). <> Afras. \**?i/abar-* 'fig-tree': Sem.: Arb. *?ibrat-* 'figuier sycomore', Amh. *abʷar* 'tree like the warka' (warka means 'sycamore'), Wol. *abro* 'k. of tree', Brb. Ghadames *ebrər* 'être fécondé (palmier)', *aberīr* 'fleur de palmier mâle' (<\**?i/abVrir*), W. Chad. Hausa *baure* 'fig-tree, fig-fruit' (<\**?Vbawr-*), E. Cush. Oromo *habru*, *abru*, *harbū* 'sycamore' vs. Afras. \**baw/yar-*: Sem. Gez. *burāt* 'olive tree', End. *burat* 'k. of tree', E. Chad. Migama *baāra* 'figuier (rouge)', N. Cush. Beja *bīr* 'Dumpalm', E. Cush. Somali *baār* 'tree top; *Commelina* spec.', Rendille *baār* '*Hyphaene coracea* Gaertn., Palmae' (Mil Farm 139).

## **?Vn-**

Animal names:

[] Gez. *?ankāl* 'louse, vermin' vs. Sem. \***kalm-** 'louse' (probably < \**kal-m-*, cf. S. Omot. Dime

*kalkal* 'ant' Bnd Om 346): Syr. *kalmā*, Sab. *klm*, etc. (SED II 130 b). [] Eth. \**?an-ku*ra(rV)ʔ- 'frog': Tgr. *?ankorə*ŋ, Tna. *ənkorɔ*ŋ, Har. *ankurāraht*i, Sel. Wol. Zw. *ənkurarit* vs. \***kVi(V)r** id. (SED II No. 137; v. in **PV**-Animal names). [] Mod. Eth. \**?ən-ṣərər* 'cricket': Tgr. *?ənṣərar*, Amh. *ənčərar* (Tna. *?ənčərar*) vs. \***nVsVr** id.: Hbr. pB. *nēṣär*, Syr. *nāṣorā* (SED II No. 167). [] (?) Gez. *?inātoli* 'young camel', Amh. *ənatoli* 'young female camel' vs. Gez. *waytal* 'kind of wild she-goat, roe, kind of gazelle', Tna. *wäytäl* 'ibex' vs. Gez. *tali* 'goat, kid' < \***talay-** 'lamb, kid' (SED II No. 232); comparison semantically problematic.

Anatomy:

[] Eth. \**?ən-kulalih*: Tna. *?ənkulalih*, Amh. *ənkulal* or *ənkʷəlal*, etc., metathetically related to \***ka(w)hil-** 'egg': Mhr. *kawħəl*, Jib. *ḳħilət*, *kaħeżiñ*, Soq. *ḳħeħlhin* (v. in SED I No. 170). [] Sem. \**?VbV*ʔ(bV)ʔ-at-: Hbr. *?aba*ŋ**bū**ŋöt 'blisters, ulcers', Jud. *?aba*ŋ**bū**ŋīn (pl.) 'pustules', Gez. *?ənpājjé* 'ulcers resulting from elephantiasis, pustules', Sel. (h)umbobbo, Wol. *əmbʷäbbo*, Cha. *əmbʷäpʷä*, etc. 'blister' vs. \***bVi(bV)at-**: Akk. *bubu*?tu (*bubūtu*, etc.) 'inflammation, boil, pustule', Jud. *bū*?ā 'swelling, abscess' (SED I No. 30).

## PV-

Animal names:

[] Tna. *?afāl* 'insects or fleas which live in grass' (< Sem., if Akk. *uplu* 'Kopflaus' is <\**?upl-* and not <\**?upl-*) vs. \***pVi(y)-** 'kind of insect, louse': Jud. *palyā*, *palyā* bē?ārī 'name of a locust on palm-trees', Arb. *fāliyat-* 'sorte d'insecte semblable au scarabée', Mhr. *fəlō* 'to delouse', etc. (SED II No. 175). [] Tna. *?ənč/čərar* vs. \***nVsVr** 'cricket': Hbr. pB. *nēṣär*, Syr. *nāṣorā* (SED II No. 167). [] Arb. *?uṣfūr-* 'passerau; tout petit oiseau', Jib. *?esferōt* 'bird' (<\**?VṣpVr-*) vs. Arb. *sāfir-* 'espece de petit oiseau de la famille des passereaux; tout oiseau qui n'est pas oiseau de proie', Jib. *?efirōt* 'Vogel' < \***sVp(p)Vr** 'kind of small) bird' (SED II No. 212; *?V-* can alternatively be explained by contamination with \***Vssūr-** 'bird', No. 43). [] Sem. \**?ak(u)ruk(k)-* 'frog': Syr. *?akrūkā*, Arb. *?ukurukk-* vs. \***kVi(V)r** id. (SED II No. 137; v. in **PV**-Animal names; cf. also Syr. *yakrūrā*). [] Sem. \***?akrab-** 'scorpion': Hbr. *?akrāb*, Arb. *?akrab-*, etc. vs. Arb. *karanbā* < Afras. \***kVrab-**: W. Chad. Galambu *kurbá* 'ant', C. Chad. Buduma *kīrbābo* 'flea', E. Cush. Burji *kōbur-o* (and *kōobr-oo* with metathesis) 'scorpion', S. Omot. Ongota *karrabati* 'spider' (SED II No. 31). [] Sem. \***?igwal-/?igl-** 'calf' (Hbr. *?ēgāl*, Arb. *?ižl-*, etc.) < Afras.? Cf. Egyp. *?gny* 'Name einer Stadt bei Esneh (wo die Hathor als Kuh verehrt wird)' (EG I 236; cow depicted) vs. Afras. \**gal-*: Sem. Eth. Tgr. *gəlgāl* 'foal (mule, horse)', Amh. *gəlgāl* 'the young of domestic animals (goat, sheep, horse, donkey)', etc., W. Chad. Sayanci *gāl* 'cow', C. Chad. Bura *gyēl* 'bull', N. Omot. Wolayta *gallua* 'calf' (SED II No. 28).

Anatomy:

[] Mhr. *?ākermōt*, Hrs. *?ākermōt*, Jib. *?akərūt* 'pelvis' < MSA \**?ak Vrm-ut* vs. Sem. \***kVi(V)m-**: Akk. *kirimmu* 'hold, position of the arms of a mother to cradle a small child', Arb. *karmat-* 'tête de l'os du fémur', Amh. *kurma* 'elbow', etc. (SED I No. 149).

Varia:

[] Hbr. *?āgōl* 'round' (adj.; HAL 784), Soq. *ga*?*lhel* 'rond' (LS 113; metathesis or a case of

infixed -*ʔ?*) vs. Syr. *gəlīlā* 'rotundus' (Brock 115), Arb. *žullat-*, *žallat-*, *žillat-* 'boule de fiente' (BK 1 308), Amh. *gʷiləlät* 'chapiteau, coupole' (Baet 1052) < Afras. \**gʷalVI-*: Brb. Ghat *žiləllaw-öt* 'rond' (Neh 202), Ayr *gələll-öt* 'é. rond, circulaire' (Aloj 52), etc., W. Chad. Hausa *gulūlu* 'ball' (Abr Hs 340).

## **hV-**

Animal names:

[] Hbr. pB. *hădāyā*, Jud. *br hwddy*, Mnd. *hadia* vs. Hbr. *dāʔā*, *dayyā*, Jud. *dyyh*, Mnd. *dita* < \***daʔy(-at)**- 'bird of prey' (SED II No. 64). [] Arb. *habūr-* 'araignée', *habbūr-* 'petite fourmi' vs. \***bur-** 'kind of insect': Akk. \**būrtu* (in *burt/di šamħat*) 'caterpillar', Muh. *burä*, etc. 'insect that eats the root of the äsät' (SED II No. 62).

## **yV-**

Animal names:

[] Syr. *yaķrūrā* vs. \***kVi(V)r-** 'frog' (SED II No. 137; v. in **?V-** Animal names). [] Arb. *yaʔfūr-*, *yuʔfūr-* 'gazelle; petit de gazelle ou de biche' vs. *ʔifr-*, *ʔufr-* 'porc, verrat; petit cochon, pourceau' (v. in \***yFVpr-** 'young of ungulate' SED II No. 88). [] Arb. *yaʔmūr-* 'espece de chamois' vs. *ʔimmar-*, *ʔammar-* 'agneau' < \***ʔimmar-** 'lamb' (SED II No. 5). [] Arb. *yahmūr-* 'onager' vs. *himār-* 'donkey, onager' < \***himār-** 'donkey' (SED II 98). [] Mhr. *yətāyl*, Hrs. *yetāyl*, Jib. *itʔēl* vs. Hbr. *šūʕāl*, Arb. *tuʃāl*, Jib. *teʃāyl* (< \***tVVI-** ~ \***taʃlab-** 'fox' SED II No. 237). [] Sem.: Akk. *enšūpu* 'a bird', Hbr. *yanšūp* 'ibis' vs. Arb. *nussāf-* 'sorte d'oiseau semblable à l'hirondelle' (v. in \***nVSvp-** 'kind of bird' SED II No. 165). [] Sem. \***yapan-** 'young bull': Ugr. *ypt*, Arb. *yafanat-*, Gez. *tayfan*, etc. vs. Afras. \**fa(?)Vn-* 'bull': Sem. Arb. *fanāt-* 'vache', W. Chad. Montol *feog*, Siri *te-vni*, C. Chad. Higi-Dakwa *funu*, S. Cush. Asa *faʔanok* 'elephant', (?) Qwadza *faʔamo* 'buffalo' (cf. SED II No. 250). [] Cf. also Sem. \***yarbVI-** 'kind of rodent' (SED II No. 251) where \**ya-* seems a secondary extention of the triconsonantal root, though no parallels without \**ya-* confirming such analysis have been found so far.

Anatomy:

[] Hbr. *ypħ* (hitp.) 'to gasp for breath, groan' vs. *pwh* 'to fan, to waft through', pB. *pəħi* 'blowing out, expiration' < \***pbħ** 'to breathe, blow, exhale (smell)' (v. in **nV-** Anatomy above; SED I Vb. No. 54)

## **wV-**

Animal names:

[] Tna. *wäyfän*, Amh. *wäyfän*, Muh. Msq. Gog. *wäfen* 'young bull' (< Afras. \**wa(y)fan-*? Cf. C. Chad. Gaʔanda *ufana*, Gude *uwena*, Nzangi *uwune* 'buffalo') vs. Sem. \***yapan-** 'young bull': Arb. *yafanat-*, Gez. *tayfan*, etc. (< Afras. \**fa(?)Vn-* 'bull' above; v. all the variants of this root in SED II No. 250). [] Gez. *wayṭal* 'kind of wild goat, roe, gazelle', Tna *wäyṭäl* 'ibex' vs. Gez. *ṭali* 'goat, kid', Tna. *ṭäl*, *ṭel* 'goat' < \***talay-** 'lamb, kid' (Hbr. *ṭalā*, Arb. *ṭala<sup>n</sup>*, *ṭalw-*, etc. in SED II No. 232). [] Sem. \***wābil-** 'ram': Hbr. *yōbēl*, Arb. *wābilat-*, etc. (probably < Afras. \**y/wabil-*, if Egyp. *ib*?w

'ovis tragelaphus' is from \*yVbVI-) vs. Akk. *būlu* 'herd of cattle, sheep or horses' < Afras. \*bVI-'small cattle': Brb. Gurara Tuat Tidikelt *belli* 'moutons', etc., E. Chad. Lele *bulóbuló*, Kabalai *bal*, C. Chad. Boka *bwələ* 'goat', etc., E. Cush. Oromo *bulāl-ē* 'lamb', etc. (cf. SED II No. 245).

Varia:

[] Arb. *wzm* 'payer, acquitter (la dette); éprouver quelques pertes dans son avoir', *wazmat-* 'pertes...' (BK 2 1529) < Sem.: Mhr *wəzūm* (JM 434), Jib. *ezūm*, Soq. *əzəm* (JJ 295) 'to give, lend' (phonetically and semantically more likely authentic than borrowed from Arb.) vs. Arb. *zām-* 'quart (de toute chose)' (BK 1 1029) < Afras.: W. Chad. Hausa *zāmā* 'defraud a person of his proper share' (Barg 1126), C. Chad. Logone *zəm* 'plunder' (cf. Luk Log 127), Buduma *ham* id. (Luk Bud 102), Gude *zəmə* 'cheat, neglect to pay debts' (Hos 296). [] Gez. *wāzemā*, Tna. Amh. *wazema* 'chants of a vigil, hymns sung on the eve of a holiday' (LGz 624) vs. Gez. *zemā* 'song, liturgical chant', Tna. Amh. Gur. *zema* 'song, mode of singing', Gez. *zəmmāme*, Tna. Amh. *zemmama* 'rhythm of singing, etc.' (ibid. 638) < Sem.: Syr. *zam* 'susurravit, sonuit' (Brock 198), Mnd. *zmm* 'to hum, resound' (DM 169), *zwm* 'to hum, buzz' (ibid. 164), Arb. *zmzm* 'produire un murmure qu'on peut entendre au loin' (BK 1 1011). [] Sem.: Arb. *wlm* 'donner un repas' (BK 2 1605), Mhr. *awōlem*, Hrs. *awlōm*, Jib. *ulm* 'to prepare a meal' (JH 136; perhaps < Arb.) < Afras. \**wlm* 'to eat, feed': Egyp. OK *wnm* 'essen' (EG I 320), E. Chad. Kabalai *wélmə* 'food' vs. Akk. *lamāmu* 'to chew' (CAD L 59) < Afras. \**IVm-* 'to eat, chew': W. Chad. Hausa *lāluma* 'chewing by a toothless mouth' (Barg 717), C. Chad. Mbara *lūm* 'mordre' (TSL 294), Musgu *lāma* 'essen, beissen' (Luk Msg 64).

### **Consonantal Infixation**

**-n-** (cf. Růžička; some of the examples point to the original *-n-* lost in part of the forms, sometimes - but not always - leaving traces by the reduplication of the following consonant)

Animal names:

[] Akk. *mi/andinu* (and *middinu*, with *-dd-* likely <\*-nd-) 'tiger?' vs. Arb. *?al-madīn-* 'lion' (and Ebl. *mu-da-ne-nūm?*) in \***MV(n)dīn-** 'a large wild cat' (SED II No. 151; cf. also C. Chad. Afade *maudá* 'Hyäne', E. Chad. Mubi *?āmdāwut* 'cat' likely implying Afras. \**maday/w(n)-* 'k. of feline'). [] Aram. Off. *ṣnpr* 'bird' (Hbr. *ṣippōr*, Jud. *ṣippar*, *ṣippərā*, Syr. *ṣeppərā* can go back to \**ṣinpar-* with \*-np->-pp-) vs. Arb. *ṣāfir-* 'espèce de petit oiseau', Hrs. *šeferot* 'sandpiper', etc. < \***sVp(p)Vr-** '(kind of small) bird' < Afras. \**çapVr-*: W. Chad. Mburku *çāpur*, C. Chad. Bura *cəvūr*, Margi *cəvūr* 'guinea fowl' (SED II No. 212). [] Mnd. *anglia* vs. Jud. *የegal*, Syr. *Seglā* etc. < \***ṭigwāl-** // \***ṭigl-** 'calf' (SED II No. 28). [] Arb. *žandab-*, *žundub-* vs. Tna. *gʷädäbä* (in \***gʷa(n)dab-** // \***ga(n)dab-** 'cricket, locust' SED II No. 80). [] Gez. *kʷarnanařāt*, Amh. *kʷärnänät* vs. Tgr. *korəř*, Tna. *kʷərřo* in \***kVr(V)r-** 'frog' (SED II No. 137; v. in **PV**-Animal names). [] N. Eth. \**?anṣaw/y-*: Gez. *?anṣa/e/owā* 'mouse, weasel', Tgr. *?/anṣay* 'mouse', Tna. *?ančəwa* 'mouse, rat' (cf. C. Cush. \**?inčaw-*, N. Omot. Shinasha *iinčā*, Anfillo *inšo* id.; < Afras. \**?ançVyaw-* or Eth. borrowing into Cush. and Omot.?) vs. Sem. \**?ayaş-*: Akk. *ayāšu* 'weasel', Amh. *ay(ə)t* 'mouse' < Afras. \**?ayaç-* 'kind of small mammal': W. Chad. Hausa *çiyō*, E. Cush. Oromo *wawwačoo*, N.

Omot. Basketo *iici*, Kafa *ičoo* etc. (cf. \***?ayas-** ~ \***?ansawiy-** 'weasel, mouse' SED II No. 26). [] Tna. *gʷändäran*, Amh. *gʷändä/ora* 'k. of worm' (< Afras. \**gʷandVr*-? Cf. semantically heterogenous but phonetically impeccable W. Chad. Daffo-Butura *gandir* 'Eidechse' and E. Chad. Dangla *göndyır-kö* 'petites termites') vs. Mhr. *gədərēt*, Hrs. *gederēt* 'k. of worm', Jib. *əzdirēt* 'small insect (which eats clothes, wood)' (cf. \***gʷa(n)dVr**- // \***gV(n)dVr**- 'kind of worm' SED II No. 81). [] Tgr. *fərnəg*, *fənrəg* 'quail' vs. \***parg-** 'kind of bird (hen, quail)': Hbr. pB. *pargīt* 'young poultry', Syr. *parrūgā* 'pullus', etc. (< Afras.? Cf. W. Chad. Pero *parago* 'partridge') SED II No. 178. [] Tna. *θəngugu* 'kind of black worm living in water' vs. Jib. *hažót* (< \**hag*-) 'large, blind black segmented centipede oftenest seen during the rainy season' (v. \***hV(n)g-** 'kind of worm, centipede' SED II No. 100). [] Mnd. *kunpud*, Arb. *kunfud-*, Gez. *kʷənfəz*, etc. vs. Jud. *kupdā* (and Ebl. *ki-pa-šum*?) in \***k(w)ipad-** // \***kunpud-** 'hedgehog' (SED II No. 133; -n- is a root extender or part of the primary root?). [] Arb. *hinzīr-*, Gez. *hanzīr*, Mhr. *hənzīr*, Jib. *hanzīr* 'pig' (three latter forms may be Arabisms) vs. Akk. *huzīru*, Ugr. /*huzīru/*, Hbr. *ħazīr*, Jud. *ħazīr* etc. (in \***ħV(n)zīr-** 'pig' SED II No. 111). [] Akk. *e/inzu*, Syr. *θənez* (st. const.), Arb. *θanz(-at)-*, etc. '(she-)goat' vs. Ugr. *sz*, Jib. *?ɔz* 'goat', etc. < \***Vnz-** 'goat' (SED II No. 35; cf. ibid. E. Cush. Saho *θidoo*, S. Cush. Asa *?ando* and other possible Afras. parallels). [] Sem. \***?a(n)z/dar-** 'kind of feline': Gez. *?anzar*, Akk. *azaru* (and *azzaru*, likely pointing to \**anzar*-) vs. Afras. \**?a-3/3Vr*- id. (SED II No. 9; v. above in **?V-** Animal names).

#### Anatomy:

[] Arb. *sint-* 'poignet' vs. Hbr. pB. \**sīt* 'the distance between the tip of the thumb and that of the index finger', Syr. *sītā* 'palmus' < \***si(n)t-** 'flat hand with wrist' (SED I 209). [] Arb. *ħinsi/ar-* vs. Hbr. pB. *ħašēr*, Syr. *ħeṣrā*, Mhr. *ħəšərrō?* 'little finger', etc. (in < \***hi(n)sVr**- '(little) finger' SED I 134). [] Gez. *kʷərnā?*, Tna. *kʷərma?* 'elbow, forearm', Amh. Arg. *kərn* 'elbow' (cf. also Jib. *kermō?* 'heel') vs. Sem. \***Kwīnā?** 'knee and shin-bone; lower leg (of animal)': Akk. *kurītu* 'shin (of animals)', Sab. *kr?* 'leg of a camel', etc. (SED I No. 157). [] Tgr. *sənzər* 'palm', Tna *sänzäärä* 'to measure with the span', Amh. Selti Wolane Zway *sənzər*, Har. *zunzurti* (prob. also End. *zəssər*, Eža Muh. etc. *zəzzər* if < \**zənzər* assim. < \**sənzər*) vs. Gez. *səz(ə)r*, Cha. Enn. Gye. *səzər* 'span' (in \***š/sV(n)zVr**- 'span', SED I No. 251). [] Mod. Eth. \**šənfəl(la)* 'ruminant's stomachs' (Tgr. Tna. Amh. Zw. Gog. Sod.) vs. Arb. *miſfalat-* 'gésier, jabot (d'oiseau); estomac', MSA \**šafəl* 'belly, stomach' (in \***š/sV(n)pVI-** 'stomach (of an animal, bird)', SED I No. 271). [] S. Eth. \**gandya* (Har. *gānža*, Sel. *gānžä*, Wol. *ganžä*, Msq. *ganža*, prob. Eža *gažža*) vs. \**gadya* (Zw. *gādiyō*, Cha. Enn. Gye. *gaža*, End. *gažža*) 'tendon of leg' < Sem. \***gīd** 'sinew, nerve' (SED I 72). [] Tgr. *θ/?anšäbät* 'sinew' vs. Arb. *θaṣab-* 'nerves', Mhr. *θāṣbīt* 'sinew, nerve' < Sem. \***?a(n)sab-** 'sinew, nerves' (SED I No. 16). [] Soq. *θaronik* 'mollet' vs. Mhr. *θark* 'artery, sinew, nerve', Arb. *θirk-* 'veine', etc. < Sem. \***θaṣik-** 'tendon, muscle, vein, nerf' (SED I No. 20). [] MSA \**kənsīd-* '(top of) shoulder' vs. Akk. *kišādu* 'neck, throat; necklace', Mnd. *kšada* 'throat', Eth. \**kəsād* 'neck' < \***ki(n)šad-** 'neck, top of shoulder' (SED I No. 147). [] Sem.: Akk. *ṣernettu* (also *ṣennītu*, *ṣennītu*) 'a skin disease', Gez. *ṣəməθt* 'scab, malignant ulcer' vs. Hbr. *ṣāraṣat* 'skin disease', Jud. *ṣi/urθā* 'leprosy' (in \***simay-at-**, SED I No. 257). [] Arb. *šnf* 'avoir la lèvre supérieure relevée,

retroussée', Tgr. *šanəf*'mouth (of animals)', Tna. *šäñfawā* 'to have disproportionate lips' vs. Akk. *šaptu*, Ugr. *špt*, Hbr. *sāpā*, Syr. *septā*, Arb. *ša/ifat-*, etc. 'lip' < Sem. **\*sa(n)p-at-** (SED I No. 265).

Varia:

[] Amh. *gʷänäddäbä* 'to cut, curve' vs. *gʷaddäbä* 'to dig, cut' < Eth. **\*gʷdb** 'to cut' (LGz 181).

#### -t-

Animal names:

[] Arb. *taytal-* 'vieux bouc de montagnes; espèce d'antilope' vs. *tilal-*, *tilāl-* 'troupe de brebis, ou de brebis mêlée aux chevres' < **\*tVl-** 'head of small cattle': Tgr. *səle* 'a species of goat', Mhr. *tal* 'weakly goat', etc. (SED II No. 239). [] Gez. *nes(ā)tāli* 'serpent-idol of bronze; field snake' vs. Tgr. *näsälät* 'serpent boa' (in **\*pat(h)al-** 'a mythical reptile, dragon' SED II No. 20). [] Tgr. *tötäl* 'esp. d'antilope' vs. *tälit* (coll. *tel*) 'goat' < **\*talay-** 'lamb, kid': Hbr. *tālā*, Arb. *tala<sup>n</sup>*, *talw-* 'petit de gazelle' etc. (SED II No. 232).

Anatomy:

[] Eth.: Gez. *maltaħt* 'cheek, jaw', Tna. *mäta/ələħ* 'temple', *mätaläħti* 'the upper forepart of the skull' vs. Mhr. *məlhāw*'jaw, molar tooth', Hrs. *meleħaw*'side of the jaw', Jib. *məžħet*'jaw', Soq. *malahi*'cheek' < **\*lih(a)y(-at)-** 'cheek, jaw': Tgr. *ləħe* 'jaw, molar tooth', Mhr. *lēħi* 'jaw', Hbr. *ləħi*'chin, jawbone, cheek', etc. (SED I No. 178).

#### -F-(v. also in Maizel 185)

Animal names:

[] Arb. Dof. *faʃor* 'bull', Mhr. *fōr*, Jib. *fōʃr*, Soq. *faʃhar* 'young bull' vs. **\*parr-** 'young of small or large cattle': Ugr. *pr*'young bull', Hbr. *par* 'bull, steer', etc. (SED II No. 181). [] (?) Sem. **\*bV̥Vr-** 'household animal; beast of burden': Hbr. *bəʃir* 'livestock, cattle', Syr. *bəʃīrā* 'brutum, jumentum', Arb. *baʃīr-* 'chameau; toute bête de charge', Mhr. *bəʃāyr* 'male camel' (< Arb.?), etc. vs. **\*bV̥r-** 'cattle': Akk. *bīru* 'bull (for breeding); young cattle' (less likely < **\*bV̥Vr-**), Mnd. *bira* 'domestic cattle', Mhr. *ha-bēr* 'camels', Hrs. *he-byār* 'female camels' (SED II No. 53). <> Egyp. NK *pʃr-t* 'ein Geflügel (neben Tauben)' (EG I 504) vs. Pyr. *pr* 'ein Vogel' (ibid. 504) < Afras. **\*pV̥r(w)-** 'kind of (small) bird': Sem. Jud. *parwā* 'name of an unclean bird', Gez. *fərfərt* 'quail', etc., W. Chad. Hausa *fēnū* 'name of small bird', S. Cush. Iraqw *piryoó* 'small bird sp.' (v. in **\*pV̥pVr-, \*parr/w-** 'kind of bird', SED II No. 180).

Anatomy:

[] Arb. *lRk* 'lécher' (BK 2 1003) vs. *lk* id. < Sem.: Hbr. *lk* 'to lick up, lap', Tgr. *läkläkä* 'to lick' (HAL 535-6). [] Arb. *dʃs* 'fouler fortement avec les pieds' (BK 1 700) vs. *dws* 'fouler le sol avec les pieds' (ibid. 750) < Sem.: Akk. *d(i)āšu*, Hbr. *dw/yš* 'to trample, thresh', Tgr. *däwšäšä* 'to crush' (HAL 218). <> Egyp. MK *wʃr-t* 'Bein' (EG I 287) vs. Afras. **\*war-**: Arb. *warr-* 'os de la hanche' (BK 2 1516), W. Chad. Ankwe *warr* 'leg' (ADB; not in Kr and CLR), C. Chad. Musgu *were* 'Knie' (Luk Msg 81), S. Cush. Iraqw *uryee* 'backside of upper side of leg, thigh' MQK 113), Burunge *?uuriyoo* 'hips', etc. (KM 310).

Varia:

[] Sem. \**kwd*: Syr. *kwd* 'inclinavit, flexit (genua)' (Brock 681), Arb. *kwd* 'être assis, s'asseoir (après avoir été debout)' (BK 2 776) vs. \**kdd*: Akk. *kadādu* 'to bow very low, bend', Hbr. *kdd* (and *kwd*) 'to bow, kneel down' (HAL 1065).

### **-h-** (v. also in Maizel 185-6)

Animal names:

[] Arb. *šayham-* 'porc-épic' vs. Akk. *ušummu, šummu* 'Gartenschläfer', Arb. *šīm-* (pl.) 'rat' (v. in \***sVm-** 'kind of mouse, rat' SED II No. 214). [] (?) Arb. *rahw-* 'crane' vs. Hbr. *rā?ā* 'red kite', Tgr. *rawya* 'stork', Tna. *rawya* 'kind of very large vulture; falcon, sparrow hawk, kite' in \***ra?/why-** 'kind of bird' (SED II No. 187; otherwise to be interpreted as a case of root variation with -h- vs. -?- vs. -w/y-). [] Gez. *nəhb*, Tgr. *nəhəb*, Tna. *nəhbi* vs. Sem. \***nib(-at)-** 'bee': Akk. *nūbtu*, Arb. *nūb-* etc. (SED II No. 156). [] Gez. *kʷāhilā* 'fox-like animal' vs. Sem. \***kalb-** 'dog', supposedly < \**kal-b-* < Afras. \**kVI-* 'wolf, dog, fox': Brb. Ayr *ă-kulen* 'loup, loup peint (lycaon)', C. Chad. Gudu *kūləm* 'hyena', Bura-Pela *kila*, Logone *kələ* 'dog', E. Chad. Dangla *kulkō* 'cynhyène', N. Cush. Beja *tákʷla* 'Wolf; Lycaon pictus', etc. (v. SED II No. 115). [] Tna. *gahret* 'doe antelope' (for the laryngeal in the same root probably implying Afras. \**g(w)arh-*, cf. Brb. Zenaga *əgrərh* 'bélier', E. Chad. Kera *agerhe* 'Esel', S. Cush. Burunge *gwereha*, Gorowa Alagwa *gwereha* 'dikdik antelope') vs. Tgr. *gärwa* 'kudu antelope', Akk. *gurratu, agurratu* 'ewe' < Sem. \***gVir/w(-at)-** 'small hooved animal' < Afras. \**gwar-*, \**garw-* (SED II No. 85). [] Tgr. *wuhər*, pl. *?awhər, ?awhərät* 'bull' (LH 427) vs. Afras. \**war-*: Egyp. MK *wr-t* 'göttliche Kuh' (EG I 331), W. Chad. Hausa *wariyya* 'a k. of antelope' (Barg 1084; cf. *warari* 'a vicious bull' ibid.), E. Cush. Sidamo *war-aamo* 'older calf' (HEC 35). [] Mhr. *ləhaytən*, Hrs. *ləhētəh* 'cows', Jib. (pl.) *lhōti*, Soq. *?élhəh* 'cow' vs. Sem. \***li?(at)-, la?ay-at-** 'head of large cattle': Akk. *littu* (*lītu*) 'cow', Arb. *lā?a<sup>n</sup>* 'taureau sauvage, buffle', *la?āt-* 'vache sauvage' (SED II No. 142; otherwise to be interpreted as a ? ~ h root variation case). [] Sem. \**?athal-*: Syr. *?atehleyā*, Tgr. *?ashalät* 'dragon', Tna. *?ashalät* 'mythical creature of immense size, like a crocodile in appearance; python' (-h- is probably a primary, not inserted, radical, cf. Brb. \**HasšVI-* '(large) snake': Ghat *asil*, Ahaggar *ăšel*, etc., Omot. \**haylaš-* with metathesis: Wolayta *aylaaš-*, Gemu *haylašo*, Gofa *haaylašo*, Ari *hayleša* 'crocodile') vs. \**?atal-*: Syr. *?ātalyā* 'dragon', Tna. *?asälät* 'mythical creature of immense size, like a crocodile in appearance; python' (< Afras. \**?ačal-*? Cf. S. Cush. Dahalo *ta?ala* 'puff-adder' (EEN 8), likely < \**ča?al-* with metathesis), v. \***?at(h)al-** 'a mythical reptile, dragon' SED II No. 20. [] (?) Sem. \***pahd-** 'cheetah': Syr. *pahdā* 'panther', Mnd. *pahad* 'cheetah', Arb. *fahd-* 'guepard', etc. vs. Egyp. OK *m̩fd.t* 'karzenartiges Tier mit scharfen Krallen (Art Gepard?)' (< \**mV-?VfVd-* or \**ma-fVd-*, with ? standing for -a-?); a striking semantic coincidence makes this comparison interesting in spite of only a partial formal similarity.

Anatomy:

[] Arb. *Ihs* 'lécher' (BK 2 1032; < Sem. if Akk. *lašu* 'to taste, lick' is < \**Ihš* and not < \**Ihs*, cf. Arb. *Ihs* 'lécher' BK 2 973 and Eth. \**Ihs* 'to lick' LGz 311) vs. Iss 'lécher, manger' (BK 2 989), Iws 'gouter, tourner un morceau dans la bouche' (ibid. 1041). [] Jib. *geħe?* 'chest, breast', Soq. (Noged) *geħe?* id. vs. Jud. *gawwā* 'belly, innermost', Arb. *žu?žu?-* (redupl.) 'poitrine', etc. < Sem.

\***gaw(w)i?**- or \***gway(y)a?**- '(front part of) body; chest, belly; interior' (SED I No. 99).

Varia:

[] Hbr. *pB. mhl* 'to circumcize' (Ja 373) vs. Hbr. *mwl, mll* id. (HAL 555, 594). [] Arb. *kahd-* 'peine, fatigue' (ibid. 938; cf. *khd* 'se mettre à courir vite (se dit d'un âne)' ibid.) vs. *kadd-* 'travail, peine, fatigue' (< *kdd* 'travailler; se fatiguer à force de travailler' BK 2 872). [] Arb. *ths* 'entrer sous terre, disparaître' (BK 2 115) vs. *tss* 'plonger (dans l'eau); s'en aller, disparaître' (ibid. 80; cf. *mā ?adri ?ayna tassa* 'Je ne sais pas ce qu'il est devenu' ibid. and *mā ?adri ?ayna tahasa* id. ibid. 115). [] Arb. *žhd* 'travailler avec assiduité, avec zèle, faire des efforts' (BK 1 341) vs. *ždd* 'agir avec zèle et assiduité, s'efforcer de...' (ibid. 259), perhaps related to Eth. \**gdd* 'to force, compel' (cf. LGz 181). [] Arb. *mhd* 'étendre également', *mahhada* 'étendre comme un tapis' (BK 2 1160) vs. *mdd* id. (ibid. 1075) < Sem.: Soq. *med* 'étendre', etc. (LS 238). [] Arb. *Iht* 'frapper, atteindre quelqu'un d'une flèche' (BK 2 1033) vs. *lwṭ* id. (ibid. 1041). [] Arb. *dhk* 'couper en morceaux; briser en serrant; frapper, battre' (BK 1 742) vs. *dkk* 'é. pile, broyé fin; casser, concasser; battre, frapper' (ibid. 715) < Sem. \**dkk*: Akk. *dukkuku*, Hbr. *dak*, Gez. *dakaka* 'to crush', Soq. Mhr. *dakk* 'to pound', etc. (v. in LGz 140). [] Arb. *dhk* 'briser, broyer; moudre; fouler le sol' (BK 1 743) vs. *dkk* 'concasser, piler, broyer' < Sem. \**dkk*: Akk. Lex. *dakāku* 'to crush' (CAD D 34), Hbr. *dk?* (pi.), \**dkk* 'to crush' (HAL 221), Soq. *dekdek* 'to beat', etc. (v. in LGz 140). [] Arb. *dahr-* 'temps, âge, siècle' (BK 1 741) vs. *dawr-* 'period', Akk. *dāru* 'eternity' (otherwise < \**dahr-*), Hbr. *dōr* 'cycle, lifetime, generation', etc. (HAL 217). [] Arb. *rhk* 'fatiguer une femme par la violence de coit', *?irtahaka* 'é. mou, lâche, n'avoir pas de vigueur' (BK 1 940) vs. *rkk* 'é. très-mince; é. très-faible, très chétif; tourmenter et fatiguer' (ibid. 911-2) < Sem.: Hbr. *rkk* 'to be tender, gentle; to be timid, faint-hearted', Syr. *rak* 'to be soft', etc. (HAL 1236-7). [] Arb. *mahīn-* 'faible, débile; méprise' (BK 2 1164) vs. Gez. *manana* 'be insignificant, incomplete, lack', Tna. *mänmänä*, Amh. *mänämmänä* 'become lean or emaciated' (LGz 351) < Afras.: E. Chad. *lele mányo*, Tumak *ménii* (Bla EC), S. Cush. Dahalo *?ämína* (EEN 20), Ma?a *m?inyí* (Bla-Tos), N. Omot. Mao (Bambeshi) *amintə-* (Bnd Om 279) 'small', S. Omot. Ongota *munna?enə* 'small, narrow' (SLLE 10). [] Sem. \**bht* 'to be ashamed': Akk. *ba?āšu* (likely < \**bht*) 'to come to shame' (CAD B<sub>1</sub> 5), Ugr. *bht* 'vergüenza' (DLU 106), Syr. *bht* 'puduit eum; confusus, perturbatus est', *behtətā* 'pudor' (Brock 61-2), Arb. *bahtat-* 'fils de prostituée' (BK 1 170; cf. *bht* 'accueillir qqn. avec un visage riant' ibid.) vs. \**bwt* 'to be ashamed': Ugr. *bt* 'avergonzarse' (DLU 123), Hbr. *bws* 'to be ashamed', *būšā*, Emp. Arm. *bwt* 'shame' (HAL 116-7) < Afras. \**bVwič-* '(feminine) pudenda': Brb. Siwa *bašša* (Lao 314), Semlal *bəssi* (Dest 288), Rif Iznassen *a-bətš-un* (Ren 291) 'vagin', N. Cush. Beja *bus* 'hinterbacken, podex' (RBed 52), E. Cush. Saho Afar *bus* 'die weibliche Scham' (RAf 831), Hadiya *bisso* 'vagina' (HEC 161). [] Sem. \**nahār-* 'light, day': Hbr. *nəhārā* 'light', Syr. Jud. *nūhərā* '(gleam of) light' (HAL 677), Arb. *nahār-* 'jour, journée' (BK 2 1354) vs. \**nVr-* 'light, fire': Akk. *namāru (nawāru)* 'to shine brightly' (CAD N<sub>1</sub> 209), Ugr. *nr* 'brillar; brillo, resplendor' (DLU 331), Hbr. *nīr* 'light, lamp' (HAL 697), Arb. *nūr-* 'lumière' (BK 2 1365). [] Sem. \**khn* 'to be/act as a priest': Ugr. *khn* 'sacerdoce' (DLU 212), Hbr. *khn* 'to act as a priest', Syr. *khn* (pe.) id. (HAL 461), Mnd. *khn* 'to serve as priest' (DM 205), Arb. *khn* 'é. devin, aruspice, prêtre; prédire l'avenir' (BK 2 940) vs. Afras. \**ki/an-* 'to know': W. Chad. Kirfi *kinn-* 'to know' (Stolb Ms), E.

Chad. Mokilko *kónya* 'le savoir; la capacité' (JMkk 125), N. Cush. Beja *kān-* 'kennen, wissen' (RBed 142), C. Cush. \**kin-t-* 'to learn', E. Cush. Hadiya *ken-* 'to know' (v. Dolg 1973 212-3 where the above Cush. forms are compared to Sem. \**khn*; other comparisons are less convincing).

## -r-

Animal names:

[] Hbr. pB. *ķipəday* 'mole' vs. Hbr. *ķippōd*, pB. *ķuppād*, Jud. *ķupdā*, etc. in \***k(w)inpad-**// \***ķunpud-** 'hedgehog' (SED II No. 133). [] Hbr. *ṣəpardēā* vs. Arb. *difdi?*- (in \***ṣVpardi?**- 'frog', SED II No. 22; otherwise interpreted, -r- is a primary radical preserved in Hebrew but lost in other languages). [] Jud. *ṣurzīlā* (and *?urzīlā*) vs. *ṣwzl*, Syr. *ṣūzaylā*<**\*yVzal-**'gazelle': Arb. *yazāl*- etc. (SED II No. 92). [] Syr. *ḥarpaštā* 'scarabaeus niger' vs. Jud. *hippusītā*, *hpwšyt?* 'scarabee, beetle' (in SED II No. 96 \***ḥVbVs**x- 'kind of insect'; cf. also No. 104 \***harSap-** 'young of animals, larva': Akk. *harsapnu*, Arb. *haršaf-*).

Anatomy:

[] Aram. \**garmīdā*: Jud. *garmīdā* 'arm, elbow, cubit', Syr. *ga/ūrmīdā*, *gūrmīdā* 'cubitus, ulna', Mnd. *garmidia* 'two cubits' vs. Hbr. *gōmād* 'a linear measure, short cubit', likely <**\*kVm(V)d-** 'forearm, cubit' (SED I No. 144): Akk. *gamatu* 'a measure' (<\**gamattu* <\**gamad-t-u* or <\**gamadu* with -ad- mistaken for the -at- suffix), (?) Arb. *kumuddat-* 'verge, penis', Amh. *kənd* 'cubit (distance from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger, appr. 48 cm.); arm, forearm', Gaf. *kəndā* 'bras', Mhr. *məkəndēt* 'big toe, thumb', Jib. *mišəndj̥t* 'thumb, big toe'. [] Mod. Eth. \**brşk* 'to spit out, vomit, squirt': Tgr. *bärčäkä* 'to spit out, to squirt through the lips', Tna. *bərçəkçək bäl* 'to feel nauseous, want to vomit', Amh. *tän/mboraččäkä* 'to spray, splatter (water being poured into a container)' vs. \***bsk** 'to spit' (cf. SED I Vb. No. 7): Arb. *bsk* 'cracher', Sel. *bəçək bälä* 'to spit'. [] S. Eth. \**mşrk* 'to spit in a spurt': Har. *mičirik āša*, Gog. *məčərək bea* (and other Gur. dialects in LGur 390) vs. \**mşk* 'to spit, spirt': Har. *mičik āša* 'to squeeze something so that it spurts', Gog. Sod. *mičik \*balä* 'to spit in a spurt' (ibid. 389). [] Sem \***batūm**~\***burtim** 'long nose, beak, trunk, snout' (cf. differently in SED I No. 137): (?) Akk. *huṭtimmu* 'snout, muzzle' (-tt-<\*-rt-?), Hbr. pB. *hartōm* 'nose, beak', Syr. *hartūmā* 'proboscis (elephant)', Mnd. *hartum(a)* 'long bill, nose, snout, trunk', Arb. *hurṭum-*, *hurṭūm-* 'nez, bout du nez, tronc de l'éléphant, etc.' vs. \***huatm** 'nose, snout, muzzle, beak' (cf. differently in SED I No. 139): Ugr. *hutm* 'nariz', Hbr. pB. *hōṭām* 'the distinctive feature of the face, nose, nostril', Jud. *huṭmā* id., Arb. *haṭm-* 'bec, museau' (note \***batūm**~\***burtim** 'long prominent nose, trunk' vs. \***huatm** 'nose'). [] Sem. \***ka/urka/tub**- 'stomach (of animals, birds)' (cf. differently in SED I No. 167): (?) Akk. *kukkubātu*, *kukkubānu*, *ķukkubātu*, *ķukkubānu* 'part of the animal stomach' (<\**kurķubān/tu* or \**kubķubān/tu*), Hbr. pB. *ķorķebān* 'the thick muscular stomach of birds, crow', Jud. *ķurķebānā* id., Syr. *ķarķebānā*, *ķurķebānā* 'guttur, ingluvies (avis)', Arb. *ķarķab-*, *ķurķub-*, *ķurķubb-* 'ventre' vs. \***kVb-at-** 'stomach, ventricle, maw (of animals)' (cf. differently in SED I No. 158): Hbr. *ķēbā* 'abomasum, stomach', Jud. *ķēbətā* 'maw', *ķybħ* 'stomach', Arb. *ķibat-*, *ķibbat-* 'ventricule', *ķabķab-* (redupl.) 'ventre' (cf. also *ķabķāb-* 'vagin'), Tgr. *ķäbbät* 'a stuffed goat's stomach', Tna. *kobo* 'hernia'. [] Sem. \***kVis/s(-ull)-** 'ankle' (cf. in SED I No. 169): Hbr. \**karsullayim* 'ankles'

(dual), Jud. *karsullā*, *karsūlā* 'ankles', Syr. *kurṣəlā* 'talus; ala, axilla', Tgr. *karso* 'ankle-bone (of men), fetlock (of animals)', Wol. *ənkərša* 'ankle', Gog. Sod. *ənkərša*, Mhr. *kərṣāt* 'kneecap' (-ā points either to \*-aw or to \*-al) vs. **\*k<sup>w</sup>Vys-**, **\*k<sup>w</sup>Vss-** 'joint, point of connection between bones' (cf. SED I No. 172): (?) Akk. *kimsu*, *kinsu*, *kiṣṣu* 'knee, shin, calf of the leg', Arb. *kaṣās-*, *kuṣāṣ-*, *kiṣāṣ-* 'endroit du derrière de la tête où les cheveux finissent; endroit de la poitrine où les côtes se rencontrent', *kaṣīṣ-* 'poitrine, os de la poitrine', *kaṣṣ-*, *kuṣāṣ-* id. (cf. *kays-* 'verge, pénis', with a plausible meaning shift 'joint' > 'penis'), Gez. *kʷəyṣ*, *kʷəṣ* 'leg, shin, shinbone, thigh', (?) Amh. *kəṭay* 'joint of foot', Gye. *kəṭəyä* 'joint of foot', Soq. *mikṣeh* 'articulation, falangue'. [] Sem. **\*kʷiaṛ-** 'knee and shinbone; lower leg (of animal)' (SED I No. 157): Akk. *kurītu* 'shin (of animals)' (cf. *kirru*, *kerru* 'the region extending from the throat to and including the clavicles'), Hbr. *kərāṣayim* (du.) 'lower leg, fibula', Jud. *karṣā* 'knee, leg', Syr. *kərāṣā* 'crus', Mnd. *kraia* 'foot, leg', Arb. *kurāṣ-* 'partie la plus mince de la jambe entre le pied et le genou; os du tibia', Sab. *kr̥* 'leg of a camel', Gez. *kʷərnāṣ* 'elbow, forearm', Tna. *kʷərnāṣ* 'elbow', Amh. *kərn* 'elbow, point of the elbow', Arg. *kərra* 'arm, elbow', Har. *kuru?* 'cubit, arm', Sel. *kere*, Wol. *həri*, Zw. *hərə* 'arm, cubit, arm below the elbow', Gog. Sod. *kərrā* id. vs. **\*ku/aṣ(-at)-** or **\*kʷaṣ(-at)-** 'joint; ankle; foot' (SED I No. 140): Syr. *kōṣā* 'articulus', Arb. *kāṣ-*, *kūṣ-* 'condyle, surtout os de la main qui touche au puce ou au doigt articulaire; os de la cheville du pied, extrémité de l'os *zind'*, Amh. *kotte* 'foot, hoof (of a horse)', Sod. *kotte* 'hoof'.

Varia:

[] Syr. *dardūkē* 'pueri' (Brock 166), Jud. *dardak* 'tender, young, small (esp. pupil of a primary class)' (Ja 321), Mnd. *dirdikia* 'small, little, young (children)' (DM 101), Arb. *dardak-* 'enfants, petits de chameaux, etc.' (BK 1 688; supposedly an Aramaism, v. DM 101) vs. Sem. **\*dkk** 'to be small (of a child)': Akk. *dakku* 'small (child)' (CAD D 107), Ugr. *dk* 'pequeño, fino; débil' (DLU 135), Gez. *dkk* 'to be small, to be a child' (LGz 140; unseparated ibid. from Sem. **\*dkk** 'to crush, pound, reducer to powder' which I prefer to treat as a homonym). [] Jud. *ṣaroggēl* 'to roll' (Ja 1113), Syr. *ṣargel* 'volvit, volutavit' (Brock 547) vs. Jud. *ḡgl* 'to be round' (Ja 1041) < Sem.: Hbr. *ṭāgōl* 'round' (HAL 784), Tgr. *ṭäggälä* 'to put in a circle' (LH 487), etc. [] Sem. **\*kṛtb** 'to be prickly, sharp': Syr. *kūrṭəbā* 'tribulus (planta)' (Brock 695), Arb. *kṛtb* 'couper les os' (BK 2 715), Gez. *kərṭəb* 'kind of insect that stings or eats leaves and bark' (LGz 445) vs. Arb. *kṭb* 'couper, partager en coupant' (BK 2 754), *kutb-* 'thorn' (LGz 453, HAL 1092 after Brock 695; not in BK), Gez. *kaṭaba* 'to make a mark, trim, shorten' (LGz 453), etc. [] Sem. **\*kṛṣb**: Arb. *kṛdb* 'couper; manger des choses sèches, croquer' (BK 2 714), Soq. *kárdeb* 'mordre' (LS 387) vs. Arb. *kdb* 'couper' (BK 2 759) < Sem.? Cf. Hbr. *ḳṣb* 'to cut off', otherwise related to Arb. *ḳṣb* id. (HAL 1119). [] Sem. **\*grdm** 'to cut, split': Hbr. pB. *grdm* 'to cut off, lop' (Ja 266), Syr. *?etgardam* 'mutilatus est' (Brock 132), (?) Arb. *żrdm* 'manger, dévorer' (BK 1 278; a meaning shift 'cut off' > 'bite off' > 'eat'?), Tna. *gʷārdāmā* 'to break', etc. (v. in LGz 182-3) vs. Sem. **\*gdm** 'to cut': Akk. *gadāmu* 'to cut off hair' (CAD G 8), Hbr. pB. *gdm* 'to lop off, stump' (Ja 213), Syr. *gdm* 'cecidit, abscidit' (Brock 105), Arb. *żdm* 'couper, retrancher' (BK 1 266), Tgr. *gəddom* 'pickaxe' (LH 599).

**-1-**

Animal names:

[] Akk. *hulmiṭu* 'a snake or lizard' (Syr. *ḥulmāṭā* 'large lizard' is probably an Akkadism) vs. Hbr. *ḥōmāṭ* 'reptile', Jud. *humṭā* 'chameleon', Arb. *hamatīt-* 'serpent' <\***hVm(V)t-** (SED II No. 99).

Anatomy:

[] Syr. *zulbānā*, *zəlūbānā* 'veretrum (cervi et equi)' vs. \***zubb-** '(male) genitalia': Hbr. pB. *zubbān* 'the bag which contains a male animal's member', Arb. *zubb-* 'verge, penis (de l'homme ou d'un autre mâle)' (SED I No. 293). [] Soq. *gēlmes* 'dent' (LS 109) vs. *gímses* 'qui a des dents tordue' (ibid. 111).

Varia:

[] Sem. \**blṭh* (unless the MSA forms are Arabisms): Arb. *blṭh* (and *bldḥ*) 'é. couché à terre' (BK 1 161), Mhr. *ənbaltəh* (JM 49), Hrs. *enbelṭah* (JH 17), Jib. *ənbəltāh* 'to lie down' (JJ 26), Soq. *enbalṭeh* id. (JH 17) vs. Sem. \**bṭh*: Hbr. *bṭh* 'to fall on the ground' (HAL 120) Arb *bṭh* 'renverser, faire tomber quelqu'un la face contre terre' (BK 1 135), Jib. *bɔṭṭah* 'to lie down on the belly on the soil' (JJ 30), Soq. *bṭh* 'se coucher, s'étendre' (LS 85).

### Consonantal Suffixation

#### **-(V)n** (cf. Barth 316-45, GVG 389-96)

Animal names:

[] Akk. *kağānu*, Ebl. *ku-ki-a-nu-um* 'a bird' (cf. also Arm. Tur. *kağwon̥to* 'partridge', etc. unless w < \*b) vs. Sem. \***k(w)a?**(**k(w)a?**) -// \***ka?**(**ka?**) - 'kind of bird': Akk. *kağū* 'a bird', Jud. *kā(?)kā(?)* 'goose', *kākā*, Syr. *kākā* 'pelican', Amh. *koč* 'partridge', etc. < Afras. \**kʷa?*y(*kʷa?*y)- 'kind of bird' (SED II No. 126). [] Akk. *harsapnu* (*harasapnu*, *harsapanu*) vs. Arb. *ħarṣaf* <\***ħarSap-** 'young of animals, larva' (SED II No. 104). [] Akk. *bukānu* (*bukannu*) 'an insect or worm' vs. Hbr. pB. *bukyā* 'the spider', Tna. *bəkkʷ* 'gnawing insect, worm', etc. < \***bik(w)ay-** // \***bukay-** 'kind of insect or worm' (SED II No. 57). [] Akk. *mikkānu*, *mekikānu* 'a louse affecting cloth, animals and people' vs. Jud. *makkāk* 'k. of worm or insect', Arb. *mūk-* 'sorte de fourmi ailée' < \***mVk(Vk)-** 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 150). [] Akk. *šammānu* 'a snake' vs. Hbr. *šəmāmīt* (var. *šəmāmīt*) 'gecko', Arb. *sāmm-* (in *sāmm-* ?*abraş-*) 'espèce de gros lézard' < \***ššVm-** 'kind of reptile (snake, lizard)' (SED II No. 204). [] Akk. *zizānu* 'a locust' vs. Hbr. *zīz* 'the small creatures that ruin the fields', Arb. *zīz-* (pl. *zīzān-*) 'cigale', etc. < \***zīz-** 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 255). [] Akk. *tišānu* 'a (wild) ram' (cf. *tusēnu*, *tešēnu* 'eine Art Büffel?'), Ebl. *ti-sa-na* id. (the interpretation of both Akk. and Ebl. terms is debatable) vs. Sem. \***tays-** 'he-goat': Hbr. *tayiš*, Arb. *tays-*, etc. (SED II No. 231). [] Akk. *dimānu* 'an insect' (cf. W. Chad. Hausa *dāmanā* 'spider' and Egyp. *dñm* 'Würmer (welche die Leiche fressen)', perhaps metathetically related; one wonders whether these forms imply Afras. \**dVm-* or are accounted for by independent morphonological processes in the three languages) vs. Sem. \***dim-** 'kind of insect': Akk. *dimītu* 'a locust or bird' (CAD D 143), 'eine Art Heuschrecke?' (AHw 170), Arb. *dimm-at-* 'pou; fourmi' < Afras. \**dVm-* 'kind of insect': Egyp. *dm* 'Wurm', E. Chad. Tumak *dōm* 'abeille' (SED II No. 69). [] Ebl.

*nu-bí-a-núm* vs. Akk. *nūbtu*, Arb. *nūb-* (pl.), etc. < \***nūb(-at)-** 'bee' (SED II No. 156; v. in **-h-** Animal names). [] Ebl. *lī-a-num* (= Sum. ALIM 'bull'; note *-n-* as a marker of the male animal; for *-ān-* as a masculine marker in Sem. v. GVG I 392 and Gelb 1969 37ff.) vs. Ebl. *lī-a-tum* (= Sum. ALIM.SAL; note the feminine gender), Arb. *la?āt-* 'vache sauvage', *lā?ān-* 'taureau sauvage, buffle', Akk. *littu* (*lītu*), etc. in \***lī?(at)-, \*la?ay-at-** 'head of large cattle' (SED II No. 142). [] Hbr. *šəpīpōn*, Jud. *šəpīpōnā* (likely a Hebraism) vs. Syr. *šappāpā*, Arb. *siff-, suff-*, etc. < \***šVpp-** 'kind of snake, worm, insect larvae' (SED II No. 207). [] Hbr. *dīšōn* 'aurochs' (cf. Akk. *ditānu, didānu* id. with irregular correspondences of the second radical) vs. Akk. *daššu* (also *taššu*) 'buck (said of gazelles and goats)' < Afras.: N. Cush. Beja *deeš* 'young gazelle', N. Omot. Wolayta Gamo Kullo *dešša*, Gofa Zala Koyra Chara *deeša*, Dorze Cancha *dešš*, Malo *deše*, Dače *deyšše*, Basketo *dayša*, Kachama *deyše* 'goat' (v. in SED II No. 231 \***tays-** 'he-goat'). [] Hbr. *‘ozniyyā* 'an unclean bird: sea eagle', Syr. *‘zn?* 'avis rapacis species' vs. Hbr. pB. *‘oz* 'name of a bird, prob. black eagle', Syr. *‘izyā* 'ardea cinerea', etc. < \***‘Vz-** 'bird of prey' (SED II No. 51). [] Syr. *purta‘nā*, Jud. *purta‘nā*, Mal. *furt‘nō* vs. Akk. *perša?u*, Hbr. *par‘ōš* etc. < \***pVtyVt-~pVtay-** 'flea' (SED II No. 185). [] Jud. *rēmānā* vs. Akk. *rīmu* (*rēmu, ri?mu*), Hbr. *rə?ēm* etc. < \***ri?m-** 'wild bull' (SED II No. 186). [] Jud. *‘urdə‘nān*, Sam. *‘rd̥n* vs. Jud. *‘urdə‘nā*, Syr. *‘urdə‘nā* (with dissimilation), Hbr. *šəpardēā* (pl.), etc. < \***šVpardiā-** 'frog' (SED II No. 222). [] Jud. *šumšəmānā*, Syr. *šawšəmānā*, Mnd. *šušmana* vs. Arb. *sumsum-* < \***šumšum-** 'ant' (SED II No. 205). [] Arm.: Jud. *hōgānā*, *hōgənā* 'young camel or dromedary' (Ja 337), Syr. *hūgnō gamlō* 'dromedarius', in fabul. aram. 'asinus' (Brock 171) vs. Afras. \**hug*: Brb. Ahaggar *ăhug* 'poulain' (Fouc 529), Ayr *əhug* id. (Aloj 77), etc. (v. Kossm 101), N. Cush. Beja *hig* '3 years old camel' (Bl FB 12), E. Cush. Burji *hogom-āy* 'horses' (Sas Burji 99). [] Arb. *daybarān-* 'guepe' vs. *dabbūr-* 'bourdon, grosse mouche, frelon; reine-abeille', *dabr-*, *dibr-* 'essaim (d'abeilles ou de frelons)' < \***di/ab(b)ūr-** 'bee, wasp' (SED II No. 66). [] Arb. *dayažān-* 'grande nuée de sauterelles' vs. Tna. *duga* 'a kind of reddish fly which afflicts cows', Mhr. *dəgdīg* 'insect like a grasshopper', etc. < \***dVg-** 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 67). [] Arb. *ħunzuwānat-* 'mouche qui s'attaque au chameau' vs. Akk. *ħanzizītu* 'a green winged insect', Tna. *ħənžož*, etc. < \***ħVnz(i)uz-** 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 112). [] Arb. *silkānat-* 'poussin de perdix' vs. Hbr. *śälāk* 'an unclean bird' < \***šVI(V)k-** 'kind of bird', probably < Afras.: E. Chad. Kera *sulkū*, Kwang *súlkō*, Mobi *sulgó* 'guinea-fowl' (SED II No. 203). [] Arb. *sumānat-, sumānā* 'espèce de caille' vs. *samāmat-* 'sorte de petit oiseau semblable à l'hirondelle' vs. Sem. \***sVm(V)m(-at)** 'kind of bird': Akk. *summu, summatu* etc. 'dove' (SED II No. 196). [] Arb. *?affawān-* 'vipère mâle' (note *-ān-* as a marker of the male animal as opposed to the unmarked general term *?affān-* 'vipère'; one wonders whether what seems *-n* suffixed in Amh. *əffuññət, fuññət* 'viper' points to a common Arb.-Amh. protoform with \*-n or rather to a different origin of the latter in each case) vs. Sem. \***?apraw-**: Hbr. *?äp?ā* 'kind of snake', etc. (SED II No. 10). [] Arb. *ħukru(b)bān-* 'scorpion mâle' vs. *ħakrab-, ħakrab-at-, ħakrabā?-* 'scorpion femelle' (note *-ān-* as a marker of the male animal as opposed to the unmarked feminine *ħakrab-* and two marked feminine forms) < Sem. \***ħakrab-** 'scorpion': Ugr. *ħkrb*, Hbr. *ħakrab*, etc. (SED II No. 31). [] Arb. *ħib?ān-* 'hyène mâle', *ħib?ānat-* 'hyène femelle' vs. *dabu?-, dab?-* 'hyène', *dabu?at-* 'hyène femelle' (note *-ān-* as a marker of the male animal as opposed to the unmarked general

term *dab(u)ñ-* and feminine *dabuñat-*) < Sem. \***šab(u)ñ-** 'hyena': Hbr. *šabūñ*, etc. (SED II No. 220). [] Arb. *daywan-* 'chat mâle, matou' (note *-ān-* as a marker of the male animal) vs. Hbr. *śī* 'animals of the desert' < \***sayw-** 'wild cat' (SED II No. 224). [] Arb. *žirdawn-* (also Mhr. *gordīn*, Hrs. *gerdīn* 'rat, mouse', likely Arabisms) vs. *žurad-* 'espèce de gros rat des champs', Syr. *gārədā* 'castor' < \***gVrVd(-Vn)-** 'kind of rodent' < Afras. \**gʷVrž*: Brb. Shawiya *a-gʷerziz*, etc. 'hare' (SED II No. 84). [] Gez. *gundan* 'spider', Amh. *gundan* 'a kind of black ant' vs. Arb. *žudžud-* 'espèce de grillon de nuit', Tgr. *gədgəd* 'a species of small beetle' (also Ebl. *gu-du-gú-du-wu-um*?) in \***gʷa(n)dab-** // \***ga(n)dab-** 'cricket, locust' (SED II No. 80). [] Gez. *kʷarnanañāt*, Amh. *kərnānot* 'frog' (< Afras.? Cf. Chad. \**k/k Vr-Vn-* id.: W. Chad. Ngizim *kōriinakáu*, E. Chad. Birgit *?āngukurúna*, C. Chad. Daba *kirrig*, Mofu-Gudur *kakərag*) vs. Sem. \***kVr(V)r-** 'frog' (v. in **?V**-Animal names) < Afras. \**kVr-* id.: Egyp. *krr*, Brb. Rif *akarkur*, etc., N. Omot. Zaysse *?óokkaro*, etc. (in SED II No. 137). [] Gez. *kəradīn*, *kərdān* 'field mouse' vs. Brb. \**kard-* 'rat': Fojaha *yérde*, Rif *ayarda*, Mzab Shawiya Qabyle Shilh *ayerda*, etc. (v. in \***gVrVd(-Vn)-** 'kind of rodent' SED II No. 84). [] Tgr. *gəržən*, pl. *gäräggən* 'cub of lions or of leopards' (< \**garg-Vn*; unless dissim. < \**gurgur*) vs. \***gūr-** ~ \***gury/w-** 'whelp, cub': Hbr. *gūr*, Arb. *žurw-*, etc. (SED II No. 82). [] Amh. *wäl(lani* 'Walia ibex' vs. *waliya*, *wala* id. < \***wañil-** 'ibex': Gez. *wəñlā*, Arb. *wañl-*, etc. (SED II No. 244). [] Amh. *šälan* 'marten, ferret' vs. *šäla* id. (v. in \***tV̥Vl-** ~ \***tañlab-** 'fox' SED II No. 237). [] Eža *wizännä* 'kind of a bird' and similar Gur. forms vs. \***?aw(a)z-** ~ \***w**

**az(z)-** 'goose': Syr. *wazzā*, Arb. *?iwazz-*, *wazz-*, etc. (SED II No. 22). [] Mhr. *fərhāyın*, Hrs. *ferhín* (< \**fVrsīn*) vs. \***parāš-** 'horse': Hbr. *pārāš*, Arb. *faras-*, etc. (SED II No. 182). [] Sem.: Syr. *?arwānā* 'vitulus, vitula', Arb. *?irān-* 'oryx mâle' vs. Amh. *awra* 'male (animal), bull', etc. < \***?i/arwān-** ~ \***awr-** 'calf, bull' < Afras. \**?a/irw-* ~ \**?awr-* 'calf, bull': Egyp. MK *?ir-t* 'Kalb', W. Chad. Sha *?arwā* 'Ochse', E. Cush. Bayso *aar*, Arbore *?aar*, Burji *arr-áy* 'bull', Sidamo *wa?r-iččo* 'older calf', etc. (SED II No. 16). [] Sem.: Ebl. *ir-bí-núm* (= Sum. NAM.KUR), Arb. *?irbiyān-* vs. Akk. *erbu* (*erebu*, *aribu*), Hbr. *?arbā*, etc. < \***Parbay-** 'locust' (SED II No. 11). [] Sem. \***kut(tān)-** 'bug': Arb. *kuttān-* 'sorte d'insecte rouge et dont la picûre est douloureuse', Tgr. *kətan* '(bed-)bug(s)', Mhr. *kettōn* 'Wanze' (SED II No. 122; the two latter forms may be Arabisms) vs. Tgr. *kəta*, Tna. *kuta*, *kʷəta* 'young locust'. [] Sem. \***tukwān-** // \***tukān-** 'bug' (SED II No. 122; < Afras.? Cf. W. Chad. \**takwan* 'bleeding, cupping blood', semantically questionable) vs. Jud. *təkak* 'kind of worm' < Afras.: Egyp. *tkk-t* 'Schlupfwespe (Ichneumonida)', S. Cush. Burunge *tikañiya* 'tsetse fly', Ma?a *twángé* 'gadfly', Dahalo *takkwa?*e 'dung beetle'. [] Sem. \***tapan-** 'rock hyrax': Hbr. *šāpān*, Mhr. *tōfən*, Jib. *tʃfun* vs. E. Cush. Oromo *šuffee* 'badger' (< \**čuff-?*), N. Omot. Kafa *šifō* 'marten', Sheko *šimfa* 'mouse' (v. in SED II No. 240). [] Sem. \***kawdan-** 'mule': Akk. *kūdanu*, Syr. *kūdanyā*, etc. vs. Afras. \**dakw-*: Chad. Hausa *dōki*, Hausa *dōki*, Jimbin *daákwa*, etc. 'horse', E. Chad. Dangla *dewki* 'antelope-cheval', S. Cush. Iraqw *daketi* 'zebra' (v. in SED II No. 124). [] Sem. \***šurān-** (and the metathetic form \**šu/in(n)ār-*) 'cat': Akk. *šurānu*, Jud. *šūrānā*, etc.) vs. Afras. \**sawir-* 'kind of feline or civet': W. Chad. Hausa *sara*, *sawawara* 'civet', Daffo-Butura *šuwír* 'Wildkatze', etc., E. Chad. Tumak *sawār* 'chat doré', Dangla *sāraārā* 'panthère femelle', E. Cush. Gawkada Dobaze Harso Gollango *sarii-ko* 'leopard', N. Omot. Ganjule *šuuro* 'cat' (cf.

\*šu<sup>n</sup>in(n)ār- ~ \*šuān- 'cat' SED II No. 206). [] Sem. \*Pam-: Syr. ?arnā 'caper montanus', Gez. ?ornā 'kind of antelope', Jib. ?erūn 'goats', etc. < Afras.: Brb. \*a-nHir (met. < \*?Vrin?) 'the mohor antelope': Ahaggar enir, Taneslemt tinhirt, etc., E. Cush. Bayso orén 'goat' (v. in \*Pam- ~ \*Pam- 'wild goat' SED II No. 13) vs. Sem. \*Parwiyy- '(wild) goat, gazelle': Akk. arm/wū, Arb. ?urwiyyat-, etc. < Afras. \*?arwVy-: Brb. \*iHarw-/Hyar- 'small cattle; young of gazelle': Ghat ihəri, Ahaggar ehəre, etc., W. Chad. Hausa árà-árà 'type of long-legged ram, goat, sheep', E. Chad. Lele òrē 'goats', E. Cush. Burji aráy 'sheep', S. Cush. Iraqw ari 'goat', etc. (SED II No. 18). <> Brb. Ayr ā-kulen 'wolf' vs. Afras. \*kʷVI- 'wolf, dog, fox': C. Chad. Bura-Pela kila, Logone kəlè, Buduma keli 'dog', etc. (in \*kalb- 'dog', SED II No. 115). <> W. Chad. Hausa bakwan 'dwarf buffalo' vs. E. Chad. Kera beke 'Vieh' < Afras. \*bakw-: Brb. Nefusa byu 'veau', Ayr E. Tawllemmet e-báyāw 'vieux boeuf' (v. in \*bakar- 'large cattle' SED II No. 59). <> W. Chad. Hausa bákurnā 'red-flanked duiker' vs. Sem. \*bakar- 'large cattle' (Hbr. bākār, Arb. bakar-, etc.), perhaps < Afras. \*bak Vr-: Brb. E. Tawllemmet ḥbuyer 'chamelon d'un an' (v. in SED II No. 59). <> W. Chad. Warji íyānà vs. Kariya ií, Miya í 'dog' < Afras. \*?iway- 'wild dog, jackal': Sem. Hbr. ?ī 'jackal', Egyp. ?iw, ?iw?iw 'Art Hund', E. Cush. Somali yéey 'wild dog', etc. (in \*?VwVy- 'jackal', SED II No. 21). <> E. Chad. Bidiya b̄rbiríny 'caille' vs. Dangla baare, Migama baaré 'perdix' < Afras. \*b Vr- ~ \*bVrbVr- 'kind of bird (quail, partridge, dove)': Sem. Hbr. barbūr 'a bird fattened to be eaten by king Solomon', Tna. bareto 'turtledove', W. Chad. Hausa bi'urabira 'quail', E. Cush. Burji bür-o 'partridge', etc. (in \*bar- 'kind of bird', SED II No. 61). <> E. Cush. Dobaze koren-te 'goat' vs. Arbore kaariy 'heifer goat' < Afras. \*karr- ~ \*karw- 'ram, goat' (in \*ka/irr- 'ram', SED II No. 118). <> E. Cush. Darasa kissan-e, Kambatta kissoonna-ta 'spider' vs. Tsamai kiske 'louse' (< \*kis-k-), S. Cush. Dahalo kuci 'bee larva', etc. < Afras. \*kVc/c- 'kind of insect' (in \*kVsam- 'locust, (locust) larva', SED II No. 139). <> E. Cush. Sidamo garran-čo 'Agazen antelope' vs. N. Cush. N.: Beja garuwa 'eland', S. Cush. Iraqw gwar?aay 'antelope', etc. < Afras. \*gʷar- ~ \*garw- 'kind of ungulate' (v. in \*gVr/w-at-) 'small hooved animal' SED II No. 85). <> E. Cush. Burji kor?an-čoo, Darasa koraan-de, Hadiya koraan-ta, Kambatta kor?an-čo vs. Alaba Tembaro kura 'crow' < Afras. \*yʷwar- 'crow, raven' (in \*yānib- ~ \*yurāb- 'crow, raven' SED II No. 89). <> S. Cush. Dahalo dōoroáni 'large stinging insect' vs. E. Cush. Kambatta zeer-a 'locust' < Afras. \*žVr- 'kind of insect, worm': Sem. Arb. darr- 'très-petites fourmis', W. Chad. Galambu žuur 'worm', E. Chad. Bidiya žaariyo 'crique sp.', etc. (in \*dVr(r)- 'kind of worm, insect' SED II No. 74). <> (?) Egyp. (OK) dbn-w 'antelope' (if from Afras. \*čVb-Vn-) vs. Sem. \*tab(y)(-at-) 'gazelle': Akk. šabītu, Arb. daby- 'gazelle', etc. (SED II No. 242).

#### Anatomy:

[] Akk. dadānu (*diadānu, daddānu*) 'neck muscles' vs. Ugr. dd, Hbr. dad 'breast' < \*dadd-, \*dayd- 'breast, teat' (SED I No. 47). [] Hbr. pB. simpōn 'ramified blood-vessel, artery; bronchia' (also Jud. simpōnā id., likely a Hebraism) vs. Akk. sinib/ptu 'part of sheep's lung', Gez. san/mbu? 'lung' < \*si/amp- 'lung' (SED I No. 235). [] Hbr. sippōrān vs. Jud. ṭuprā, Gez. ṣəfr, etc. < \*tip(V)r- 'nail' (SED I No. 285). [] Arb. firsin- 'pied, patte' vs. Hbr. parsā 'hoof', Syr. parsətā 'ungula (animalis); pes; solea', etc. < \*pa/fis- 'sole (of foot, hoof)': Hbr. parsā 'hoof', Syr. parsətā 'ungula (animalis); pes; solea', etc. (SED I No. 220). [] Tgr. həfən 'hoof' vs. Arb. huff-, Mhr. haf,

etc. < \***bu̥ap-** 'hoof' (SED I No. 135). [] Mhr. *kōbən* 'dry cow-pat, piece of dry cow-dung' vs. Jib. *kō* 'cow-dung', *ekbē* '(cow) to excrete' < \***kVbaw(y)-at-** '(dry cow's) dung' (SED I No. 142). [] Mhr. *mə?wəyēn*, Hrs. *m̥eyīn* vs. Hbr. *mēyayim* (pl.), Arb. *ma'y-*, etc. < \***maʃay/w(-at)-** 'intestine, entrails' (SED I No. 185). [] Soq. *kəhēlhin* vs. Jib. *kōhlət*, etc. < \***ka(w)hil-, \*?Vn-kulalih-** 'egg' (SED I No. 170). [] Sem.: Hbr. pB. *zubbān* 'the bag which contains a male animal's member', Arb. (N. Yem.) *zibbin* 'penis' (also Syr. *zulbānā*, *zəlūbānā* 'vererum (cervi et equi)') vs. \***zubb-** '(male) genitalia': Arb. *zubb-* 'verge, penis (de l'homme ou d'un autre mâle)', (N. Yem.) *zibb*, *zubb* 'penis' (SED I No. 293). [] Sem. \***lab(y)-an-**: Akk. *labānu* (*labiānu*, *libānu*) 'tendon of the neck; neck', Arb. *labān-* 'poitrine, surtout la partie entre les mamelles, poittrail (de tout animal à sabot)' vs. \***labb(-at)-**: Arb. *lubbat-* 'le haut de la poitrine', etc., Tgr. *läbbät* 'place of the fillet steak on the back of animals; midst, side', Wol. *läbät* 'waist', Zw. *läbät* 'podex, anus, buttocks', Muh. Sod. etc. *laba* 'waist' (< \***labb(-at)-**, \***lab(y)-an-** '(animal's) body from neck to rump' SED I No. 173). [] Sem. \***dVm(a)n-**: Arb. *dimn-* 'crottin, fiente des bêtes, particulièrement, globuleuse', *damān-* 'fumiere', Hbr. *dōmān* 'dung' vs. Arb. *dimmat-* 'crottin, boule de fiente (de chameau ou d'autre animaux semblable)' (in SED I No. 52). [] Sem. \***svry/řān-**: Akk. *šerřānu* (*širřānu*) 'sinew, tendon, muscle', Jud. *suryānē*, *suryānē* (pl. constr.) 'muscles (of the eye)', Syr. *šeryānā* 'articulus; arteria; pulsus arteriarum', Mnd. *širiana* 'vein, artery, membrane, fibre', Arb. *šariyyān-* 'artère', Mhr. *šərāyn* 'leg', Jib. *šərīn* 'muscles of the back' vs. \***svry/w/ř-**: Akk. *mešrētu* (pl. tant.), Syr. *šārītā* 'articulus', Arb. *šī/arřat-*, etc. 'corde de l'arc', *?usrū?*- tendon de la jambe de la gazelle', Gez. *šərw*, etc. 'sinew, tendon, nerve, muscle', Amh. *sərasər* 'blood vessel', Soq. *mēšərāř* 'tendon d'Achille' (SED I No. 268). [] Sem. \***dap-an-**: Hbr. pB. *dōpān* 'the chest surrounding the lungs; ribs; a single rib; the parties of the abdomen; board-partition', Syr. *dapnā* 'latus, lumbus', Sel. Wol. *dāfāna* 'part of body between the shoulder-blades', etc. vs. \***dapp-at-**: Arb. *daff-* 'côté, flanc; face', Tgr. *däffät* 'place between shoulder-blade and neck', Mhr. *dəf(f)ēt* 'body, side' (in Sem. \***dap-an-** vs. \***dapp-at-** 'side of body; chest, ribs; back' SED I No. 55). [] Sem. \***daran-**: Arb. *daran-* 'tumeurs dures sur le corps', Tgr. *därän* 'cutaneous eruptions like blisters', etc. vs. Arb. *dr?* 'avoir le bubon pestilentiel au dos (se dit des chameaux)', Cha. Eža Gye. *dära* 'leprosy that causes the whiteness of skin' (in SED I No. 57). [] Sem. \***gVb(b)-an-**: Hbr. *gibbēn* 'hunchbacked', Jud. *gibnā* 'hump', Muh. *gʷəbən*, Gog. *gʷäbana* 'hunchbacked' vs. \***gab(V)b-**: Syr. *gəbībā* 'gibbosus', Arb. *žabab-* 'plaie...à la bosse du chameau', Amh. *gʷäbäbb alä* 'to be hunchbacked' (in \***gab(V)b-**, \***gVb(b)-an-** 'hump, hunch' SED I No. 67). [] Sem. \***gab(b)in-**: Jud. *gəbīnā* 'eyebrow, eyelash', Arb. *žabīn-* 'front', etc. (SED I No. 69) vs. Sem. \***gabb(-at)-**: Hbr. *gabbōt řēnayim* 'eyebrows', Arb. *žubbat-* 'os qui forme l'orbite de l'oeil', etc. (SED I No. 66). [] Sem. \***batn-**: Hbr. *bātān*, Mnd. *batna* 'large belly; pregnancy', Arb. *batn-* 'ventre', etc. (SED I No. 42) vs. Sem.: Arb. (ta)*ba?*ata, Gez. *ba?*ata 'lie in the stomach' (LGz 114) < Afras. \**bu?*- 'belly, navel': Brb. Shilh *a-bud* 'nombril', Zenaga *bu?* 'gros nombril', etc. (DRB 29), W. Chad. Sura *but*, Mupun *bu?*t, etc. 'belly' (CLR 20), Fyer *buto*, Kariya *bu?*o, etc. (note also Miya *bədi* and *bu?*ən) 'navel' (ibid. 250). [] Sem. \***šam(a)n-** 'oil, fat': Akk. *šamnu*, Ugr. *šmn*, Arb. *samn-*, etc., probably < Afras. \**sVm(V)n-*: W. Chad. Diri *šinama* (met. < \**siman-?*), E. Chad. Sokoro *súnne* 'melted butter' (< \**sumne*, according to Stolbova) vs. Tgr. *šämut* 'ointment' (cf. also *səmsəm wäda* 'to become fat in the neck') and, perhaps,

Ugr. *šmt* 'cebo, grasa' (unless < \**šamattu* < \**šaman-t-*; cf. DLU 445-6), in which case < Sem. \**šam-Vt-* < Afras. \**sim-at-* 'melted fat, butter, oil': Brb.: Ahaggar *éṣim* 'graisse fondu', Qabyle *ta-səm-t* 'graisse animal', Egyp. Med. *smy* 'fette Milch, Sahne', N. Cush. Beja *simuum* 'suet, fatty covering of kidneys' (v. in SED No. 248). [] Sem. \****lis(s)an-*** 'tongue; language': Akk. *lišānu*, Hbr. *lašōn*, Arb. *lisān-*, etc. vs. Afras. \**lis-* 'tongue' (cf. also Arb. *līs* 'lécher; manger' and similar forms): Brb. \**?i-lis-*, Egyp. Pyr. *ns* (Copt. \**lsy*), Chad. \**lis-* (SED I No. 181). <> Brb. Ahaggar *teddumman* 'morceau de cuir dur formant le fond de l'égerouci' (Fouc 201; < \**tV-dum-an*) vs. AA \**?a-dVm-* 'hide, skin': Sem. Arb. *?adam-* 'peau humaine', *?adīm-* 'peau de visage; peau d'un animal, surtout grand, large' (BK 1 19; rather homonymous to, than derived from, *?dm* 'é. rouge' ibid.), Eth. \**?adim* (Gz *?adim* 'skin, red, leather; red', Tgr. Tna. *?adim* 'leather', Amh. *adim* 'red leather'; according to LGz 8, from Arb. *?adīm-* "possibly from the red or brown color"), (?) W. Chad. Tangale *hadam* 'skin, hide, leather' (JungT 88; < \**?adam?*), E. Cush. Somali *idin*, pl. *idmo* 'tanned skin' (Dolg 1973 237; hardly < Sem. as in LGz 8).

Varia:

[] Gez. *masyān* vs. *mes* 'drink made from fermented honey' (LGz 377) < Sem. \**mayt-* (v. in -*Vr* Varia). [] Sem. \**kaṭVn-* 'small, thin': Akk. *katnu* 'thin, fine, narrow' (CAD Q 173), Hbr. *kāṭān* 'small' (HAL 1092-3), Gez. *kaṭīn* 'to be thin, fine', etc. (LGz 453) vs. \**kʷVt-*: Hbr. (hapax leg.) *kāṭ* 'small' (HAL 1091), Gez. *kʷaṭaṭa* 'to be slender, thin' (LGz 455). [] Sem. \**?adan-* 'lord, master': Ugr. *?adn*, Hbr. *?ādōn*, Pho. Nab. Palm. *?dn*, etc. (cf. HAL 12-13; DLU 9), with *-n* likely a masculine marker, vs. Sem. \**?ad-at-* 'lady' (hardly < \**?adatt-* < \**?adan-t-*; cf. DRS 8): Ugr. *?adt*, Pho. Nab. Palm. *?dt*, etc. (cf. HAL 12; DLU 11), tenably related to Tna. *addē*, Cha. *adot*, Gye. *adōt*, etc. 'mother', Cha. *ado/i*, Gog. *adde*, etc. 'mother!' (possibly but not necessarily < Cush. as in LGur 18; cf. ibid.: "The connection of this root with Ug., Punic, Palmyrean *?ad-t* 'lady' is enigmatic") < Afras. \**?a/i(n)d-* 'elder female relative': C. Chad. Munjuk *adi* 'grandmother', E. Chad. Kera *áḍidə* 'Grossmutter' (Eb 113), N. Cush. Beja *enda/e*, C. Cush. Bilin *adē* 'Mutter' (RBed 21), Somali *eddo* 'paternal aunt' (Abr Som 72), Oromo *aaddee* 'older sister, aunt; general term of address for women' (Gr 1), Hadiya Kambatta *adda* 'mother' (LGur 18), Gollango *taatíte* 'älteste Schwester' (AMS 267; likely < \**ta-?adid-*), N. Omot. Mocha *?inde*, Haruro *endo*, Malo *indo* 'mother' (LMč 20), etc. [] Afras. \**ti?(i)n-* 'fig-tree': Sem. \**ti?in-* 'fig(-tree)': Akk. *tittu*, *ti?ittu* (pl. *tīnātu*), Hbr. *tə?ēnā*, Arb. *tīn-*, etc., Brb. Ahaggar *tøyne*, Taneslemt *tehøyne*, etc. 'datte', W. Chad. Angas *teung* 'tree, fig-tree', etc. vs. \**ti?-:* Akk. (Lex. SB) *ti?u* 'Feige', N. Omot. Janjero *te?ā* 'sicomoro' (Mil Farm 142).

### -**Vm** (cf. Barth 349-54, GVG 396, Torczyner pp. 1 ff.)

Animal names:

[] Akk. *lulīmu* 'red deer, stag' vs. *littu* (*lītu*) 'cow' < \****li?(at)-, la?ay-at-*** 'head of large cattle': Arb. *lā?a<sup>n</sup>* 'taureau sauvage, buffle', etc. (SED II No. 142). [] Arb. *žardam-* vs. *žarād-* 'locust' < \****garad-*** 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 83). [] Arb. *?azram-* (< Afras. \**?a-ʒVr-am?* Cf. W. Chad. Galambu *zərəm* 'lion', C. Chad. Buduma *zāzūrmā* 'leopard' < \**zaržur-m-*) vs. Sem. \****?a(n)z/dar-*** 'kind of wild cat' < Afras. (v. **PV** Animal names; SED II No. 9). [] Arb. *?ulžūm-* 'taureau vieux'

vs. *?ižl-* 'veal' < \*\***igwal**-// \*\***igl**- 'calf': Ugr. *?gl*, Syr. *?eglā*, etc. (SED II No. 28). [] Arb. *burām-* 'tique' (also Tgr. *bəram* 'tick' unless an Arabism) vs. \*\***bur-** 'kind of insect': Akk. \**būrtu* (in *burt/di šamhat*) 'caterpillar', Eža *bere*, Cha. *bre* 'insect (such as a bug or a louse that eats human excrements or cereal)', etc. (SED II No. 62). [] Gez. *lāhm* 'ox, bull, cow', Tna. *lahmi* 'cow' (LGZ 309; < Sem. \**IVhm*-? Cf. Arb. *lihm-* 'âge (taureau)' BK 2 1034 and Akk. *lulīmu* 'red deer, stag' above) vs. Mhr. *ləhaytən*, Hrs. *ləhētəh* 'cows', Jib. (pl.) *lhoti*, Soq. *?élhēh* 'cow' (v. in \***lip(-at)**, \***lařay-at** 'head of large cattle' SED II No. 142). [] S. Eth. Amh. *kurma* 'bull (not castrated)', Har. *korma* 'male (animal)', Muh. *kʷärma* 'the young male of a sheep, male (animal), bull' (cf. also Yaaku *kúruma* 'goat' below) vs. Arb. *kawr-* 'troupeau nombreux (de chameaux, de boeufs)', probably continuing Sem. \***ka/irr-** 'ram': Akk. *kirru*, Hbr. *kar*, etc. < Afras. \**karr-*, \**karw-* '(young male) ram, goat': Brb. Nefusa *a-krar* 'bouc', Ghat *a-kərwāt* 'agneau', etc., W. Chad. Dera *kwaāra* 'goat', etc., E. Cush. Arbore *kaariy* 'heifer goat', etc. (SED II No. 118; cf. also W. Chad. Tangale *kaarwa* 'cow' CLR 92). [] Sem. \**kinVm-*: Hbr. *kinnām* 'gnats', pB. *kənimmā* 'vermin, moth', Mhr. *kənəmūt*, Hrs. *kenemōt*, Jib. *šínít* (pl. *kúnúm*), Soq. *kónem* (< Afras.? Cf. E. Chad. Migama *kákumá* 'pou', possibly < \**kan/mkum-*, and S. Cush. Iraqw *konkomó* 'bean seed borer') vs. \**kinn-*: Hbr. *kēn* 'gnat', pB. *kinnā*, Jud. *kinnā* 'vermin, louse' < Afras. \**ka/inn(kVn)-* 'kind of insect': E. Chad. Dangla *kòkkineène* 'sauterelle de saison sèche, comestible', E. Cush. Somali *šinn-i*, Oromo (Borana) *kinn-iisa*, Konso *ḥan-ta* 'bee', N. Omot. Janjero *kenako*, *kenaço* 'flea', Hozo *konni* 'louse', *kəekəŋki*, Sezo *kāŋkakāŋk(i)* 'spider' (v. in \***ki/ann(-Vm)**- 'a harmful insect', SED II No. 116). [] Sem. (unless a series of interborrowings): Syr. *būmā*, Mnd. *bum*, *buma*, N. Syr. *būmā*, Arb. *būm-* 'owl' vs. \***bVṛ(w)** ~ \***būh-** id.: Hbr. pB. *bā(?)wāt*, Syr. *ba?wā*, *bawwā*, Arb. *būh-* (SED II No. 52; perhaps onomatopoetic). [] Sem. \***kVsam**- 'locust, (locust) larva': Ugr. *kṣm* 'grasshopper(s)', Arb. *kaşam-* 'oeufs de sauterelles', *kaşām-* 'sauterelle', Amh. *kəčam* 'nit, louse' vs. Tgr. *käš*, *käč* 'flea', Amh. *kʷəčač* 'tiny black ants' < Afras. \**kVc/c-* 'kind of insect (locust or ant larva)': E. Cush. Darasa *kissane* 'spider', Tsamai *kiske* 'louse', S. Cush. Dahalo *kúci* 'bee larva', N. Omot. Kachama *kaço* 'black ant', etc. (v. in SED II No. 139). [] Sem. \***sVIVm**- 'kind of insect': Syr. *ṣalmūnøyā* 'tarantula', Arb. *?al-?aşlam-* 'puce', Tna. *ṣällam tel* 'dark spider, tarantula' vs. Hbr. *ṣəlāṣal* 'locust, cricket' (perhaps also Tgr. *ṣəlṣəl*) < Afras.? Cf. S. Omot. Hamar *čiilu* 'ant sp.' (SED II No. 210). ◊ Brb. \*(H)*iķirdam* 'scorpion': Siwa *tiquerđemt*, Ahaggar *éyîrdem*, pl. *iyôrdâm*, Semlal *iyirdem*, pl. *iyardmiun*, Qabyle *iyirdem*, etc. vs. Sem. \***kʷVrVd** // \***kVrd** 'tick': Syr. *kerdā*, Arb. *kurd-*, Tna. *kʷərdid*, etc. (SED II No. 135). ◊ E. Cush. Sidamo *gurum-iččo* 'gazelle' vs. N. Cush. Beja *garuwa* 'eland', S. Cush. Iraqw *gwar?aa* 'antelope (big)', etc. < Afras. \**gWar-* ~ \**garw-* 'kind of ungulate' (in \***gVtr/w(-at)** 'small hoofed animal' SED II No. 85). ◊ E. Cush. Yaaku *kúruma* 'goat' vs. Afras. \**karr-*, \**karw-* '(young male) ram, goat' (in \***ka/irr-** 'ram', SED II No. 118; v. above). ◊ E. Cush. Burji *garm-i*, Gidole *karm*, Konso *karm-aa*, Gawayada-Dalpena Harso Dihina Gollango *kármo* (< \**garm-*), N. Omot. Zaysse Koyra Ganjule *garma* 'lion' (unless Cush. and Omot. are interborrowings) vs. Afras. \**gi/ar-* 'cat; lion': Sem. Akk. *girru* 'lion', Har. *gärgōra* (*gängōra*) 'leopard', W. Chad. Dwot *gewar* '(an animal) smaller than civet', E. Cush. Gidole *kiro-ta*, Burji *giraaw-ee* 'cat', N. Omot. Zala *gawar-ya*, Dawro *garawa*, Malo *gaware*, Gamu/Dače *gawara*, Zaysse *garawa*, Koyra *giraawwe?* id., etc. (in

\***gūr-**~\***gury/w** 'whelp, cub', SED II No. 82). <> S. Cush. Dahalo *ngolome* <\*nV-g<sup>w</sup>Vl-am- vs. Afras. \**ñi-g<sup>w</sup>al-*: W. Chad. Sayanchi *găl* 'cow', C. Chad. Bura *gyel* 'bull', N. Omot. Wolayta *gallua* 'calf', etc. (in \***Tigwal-**//\***Tigl-** 'calf', SED II No. 28). <> S. Cush. Dahalo *kibowasimo* 'sp. small gazelle' vs. Sem. \***kabs-** 'young ram': Akk. *kabsu*, Hbr. *käbäs*, Arb. *kabs-*, etc. (SED II No. 114). <> Afras. \**ga/udam-* 'kind of of ungulate' (unless the suffixation of -m is an independent process in Chad. and Cush.): W. Chad. Kariya *gudam* 'Western kob' (cf. E. Chad. Migama *dágayám* 'sheep', perhaps related metathetically), E. Cush. Oromo *gadam-sa*, Burji *gadám-a* 'greater kudu' vs. \**ga/uday/w-* 'kind of ungulate': Sem. \***gady-** 'kid' (Hbr. *gədī*, Arb. *ȝady-*, etc.), W. Chad. Hausa *gádaa*, Ngizim *gáduwá* 'duiker', C. Chad. Zime-Batna *goday* 'buck', E. Cush. Sidamo *goda* 'deer, gazelle', N. Omot. Zaysse *gaaiddé* 'cattle', etc. (SED II No. 76). <> Afras. \***kVl(V)m-** 'vermin' (Sem.: Akk. *kalmatu* 'parasite, louse', Arm. Anc. *klmh* 'parasite, louse', Jud. *kalmā*, *kalmətā* 'vermin', C. Chad. Bura *kulamya* 'general term for worms', E. Chad. Dangla *kélémá* 'coleoptère Hydrophyle', E. Cush.: Saho Afar *kilim*, Somali *šilin*, pl. *šilm-o*, Rendille *čilim*, Oromo *šilm-a*, etc. 'tick') vs. Afras. \**k<sup>w</sup>Vl(k<sup>w</sup>Vl)-* 'kind of insect': Sem. Akk. *kulīlu* 'dragonfly', Gez. *k<sup>w</sup>əlk<sup>w</sup>əl(t)* 'kind of black ant', Brb. Ayr E. Tawllemmet *kălkăt* 'être pouilleux', C. Chad. Bura *kalakala* 'a species of locust', E. Chad. Tumak *kuləəl* 'mille-pattes' (v. in SED II No. 130 \***k(w)aml-** // \***kumāl-** ~ \***kalm-** 'louse', b. \***kalm-**). <> Afras. \**ka/ul(l)um-*: W. Chad. Hausa *kulma/e/i* 'the name of a large fish' (Barg 636), E. Cush. Afar *kullu(u)m* 'Fisch' (RAf 867), Somali *kallun*, pl. *kalluumo* 'fish' (Abr Som 148) vs. Sem. Mehri *kell*, Jibbali *kāl* 'whale' (ADB after Thomas); cf. Akk. *kulīlu*, *kulullu* 'a fabulous creature, part man and part fish' CAD K 526: Sum. Iw.), (?) C. Chad. Bura *kaliko* 'a k. of fish' (Bura 96), *kila kila* id. (ibid. 103); cf. Dolg AN 424. <> Afras. \*(?a-)ȝagum- (unless -m was suffixed independently in Chad. and Cush.): W. Chad. Ngizim *ȝzagúm* 'hippopotamus' (Bla Eleph 204), E. Cush. Yaaku *sogómei* 'elephant' (Hei Ya 124; possibly <\*zogom- <\*ȝogom-) vs. Afras. \*(?a-)ȝVgw- 'hippopotamus': C. Chad. Diri Pa?a *ȝungwa*, Siri *ȝigwa* (Sk NB 26), N. Omot. Kačama *azāgē*, Koyra *azzāgē*, Ganjule *azagé* (Bla Eleph 204), cf. also Egyp. MK *z<sup>g</sup>-t* 'Fabeltier' (EG III 422; hardly 'hyppopotamus' well-known to Egyptians: an elephant or rhinoceros?).

#### Anatomy:

[] Hbr. *śāpām* 'moustache' vs. *śāpā* 'lip' <\*śa(n)p-at- 'lip': Akk. *śaptu*, Arb. *śafat-*, etc. (SED I No. 265). [] Arb. *?adram-* 'édente' vs. *?adrad-* id. <**\*dVl(dVl)-** 'toothless mouth, gum': Jud. *dərārā* 'gum', Tgr. *dərdər gā?*a 'to grow toothless', etc. (SED I No. 56). [] Arb. *nuhmat-*, *nuhāmat-* 'ce que l'on jette par la bouche ou par le nez, comme pituite, glaire, etc.' vs. \***nah-** 'mucus; mucus membrane': Akk. *nahnahatu* (redupl.) 'Nasenscheidewand', Jib. *nħɔħ* 'phlegm', etc. (SED I 197). [] Tgr. *fərsəm* 'ankle (of men); heel tendon' vs. \***pavirs-** 'sole (of foot, hoof)' (SED I No. 220; v. in -(V)n Anatomy). [] Soq. *haryómoh* 'excrément' vs. \***ḥVṛp̥y-** 'excrement, dregs': Ugr. *ḥr?*u, Syr. *ḥerāyā*, Arb. *harr-*, *hur?*-, etc. (SED I No. 136). [] Sem.: Arb. *sanām-* 'bosse de chameau', Gez. *sə/anām* 'hump' (unless <Arb.), Tgr. *səlam* (dissim.) 'hump of camel or of cattle' vs. Arb. *sinsinat-* 'sommet de la bosse du chameau', Arg. *sañña*, Gog. Sod. *sañña* 'hump of animal', (?) Hrs. *sensīn de-đahr* 'spine' <**\*ś/sVn(-ām)-** 'hump of animal (camel, etc.)'. [] Arb. *ḥalkūm-* (also MSA \**ḥalkam-ut* 'Adam's apple', Tgr. *ḥəlkəm* 'throat, larynx', both probably <

Arb.) vs. *halk-* 'gorge' < \***halk-**, \***halkū/um**- 'Adam's apple, throat' (SED I No. 117). [] Sem.: Mnd. *bal̥uma* 'gullet' (unless < Arb.), Arb. *bul̥um-* 'oesophagus, canal de déglutition', Soq. *bal̥ham* 'viveur' vs. \***balwāy-**: Syr. *bālaṣṭā* 'guttur', Jib. *tɔbzɔṛɔt* 'uvula', etc. (cf. SED I No. 36). [] Sem. **tu/wl̥him**'spleen': Akk. *tul̥mu*, MSA \**talhaym* vs. \***tiħal-** id.: Ugr. *thl*, Hbr. pB. *təħol*, Syr. *təħalā*, etc., Arb. *tiħal*, Muh. Sod., etc. *ṭala* 'spleen', Jib. *ṭɔlh* 'blood and discharge with an afterbirth' (SED I No. 278). [] Arm. \**pum-*, Arb. *fum-*, *fam(m)-*, *fim-* 'mouth' vs. Akk. *pū*, Ugr. *p*, Hbr. *pā*, Arb. *fū-*, Eth. \**?af-* id. (in \***pay-** 'mouth', SED I No. 223; v. in **PV**-Anatomy). [] Sem. \**lkm*: Arb. *lkm* 'to eat, swallow up', Gez. *lakama* 'to chew', Tna. *läkämä* 'to eat roasted grain', Tgr. *läkma* 'to eat' (LGz 317) vs. Sem. \**IVk*(*IVk*)-: Hbr. *lk* 'to lick up, lap', pB. *lk lk* id., Arb. *lk*, Tgr. *lk lk* 'to lick' (HAL 535-6). <> E. Chad. Somrai *gídam* 'foot', E. Cush. Burji *gudúm-a*, Hadiya *gudum-o* 'shoulder' (< Afras. \**gVdVm-* unless independent processes of *-m* suffixation) vs. Sem. \**gVd-at-* '(part or bone of the) leg of animal', E. Cush. Oromo *agguuddoo* (also *abbuuddoo*, *abbuuduu*) 'thumb', Afar Saho *agadá*, *ágūd* (pl.) 'arm', Hadiya *angʷoda*, Tambaro *angäta* 'upper part of arm', Darasa *agōdā* 'shoulder', N. Omot. Kafa *gidō* 'ginocchio', Omoto (Wolamo) *gaddea* 'leg', (Kullo) *gädeiya* 'foot' < Afras. \**(?a-)gVd-* 'limb' (SED I No. 71; v. in **PV**-Anatomy). <> Afras.: Brb. Kel-Ui *uləm*, S. Omot. Hamar *weylém* (Bnd Om 211) 'heart' vs. Brb.: Ahaggar *ul*, Ayr *əwəl*, Siwa *uli*, Semlal *ul*, Qabyle *ul*, etc., id. (counter to a wide-spread opinion, unrelated to Afras. \**IVb-* 'heart') and perhaps S. Omot. Ongota *ləeta* id. (< \**IV-t?* Mil Ong). <> AA \**?a-dVm-* 'hide, skin': Sem. Arb. *?adam-* 'peau humaine', *?adīm-* 'peau de visage; peau d'un animal, surtout grand, large' (BK 1 19; rather homonymous to, than derived from, *?dm* 'é. rouge' ibid.), Eth. \**?adim* (Gez. *?adim* 'skin, red, leather; red', Tgr. Tna. *?adim* 'leather', Amh. *adim* 'red leather' (according to LGz 8, from Arb. *?adīm-* "possibly from the red or brown color"), Brb. Ahaggar *teddumman* 'morceau de cuir dur formant le fond de l'égerouci' (Fouc 201; < \**tV-HVdum-an*), (?) W. Chad. *hadam* 'skin, hide, leather' (JungT 88; < \**?adim?*), E. Cush. Somali *idin*, pl. *idmo* 'tanned skin' (Dolg 1973 237; hardly < Sem. as in LGz 8) vs. Afras. \**?a-daw-*: N. Cush. Beja *ada* 'Haut' (RBed 7), E. Cush. Sidamo *diddaawe* 'leather mat' (HEC 79), Yaaku *ata* 'bull hide' (Dolg 1973 237; < \**?ad-*).

#### Varia:

[] Arb. *šubrum-* 'espece de plante dont la graine ressemble aux lentilles' (also Sam. *šabrimma* 'grain') vs. Hbr. *šäbär* 'grain' (also Sam. *šabru* id.) < Sem. \**š(abr)(-Vm)*- < Afras. \**šV(m)bar-* 'k. of corn; chickpea' (on Afras. \**š-* > Sem. \**š-* > Hbr *š* ~ Arb. *š-* v. SED I, XC VIII-CV): C. Cush. Aungi *šəmbər-i* 'chickpea', Bilin *sabbar-á* 'Hülsenfrucht', E.: Saho Afar *sabbar-é* 'eine bestimmte Hülsenfrucht', Oromo *šumbur-ā*, Geleba Kambatta *šumbur-a*, Burji Hadiya Sidama *šimbura* 'chickpea', Gollango *sumbur-o* 'Erbse' (Mil Farm 142). [] Gez. *təmāləm* 'yesterday' vs. Tgr. *tämale*, Tna. *təmali*, Hbr. *təmōl*, Akk. *timāli*, etc. id. (LGz 575-6). [] Gez. *gesam*, *gesām*, Tgr. *gesäm* 'tomorrow' vs. Gez. *ges/sa* 'be early, do things early in the morning', Tna. *gäṣäggäsä* 'leave early in the morning', Har. *giš* 'tomorrow', etc. (LGz 208-9; v. discussion *ibid.*). [] Sem. \**gdm* 'to cut': Akk. *gadāmu* 'to cut off hair' (CAD G 8), Hbr. pB. *gdm* 'to lop off, stump' (Ja 213), Syr. *gdm* 'cecidit, abscidit' (Brock 105), Arb. *ždm* 'couper, retrancher' (BK 1 266), Tgr. *gəddom* 'pickaxe' (LH 599), etc. (v. LGz 182-3; well-looking Afras. parallels, such as E. Chad. Dangla *gáddum-nc*

'instrument for cutting wood', N. Cush. Beja *gaduum*, E. Cush. Saho *gədumaa*, Somali *gudimo*, etc. are probably borrowed from Arb. *ḳad(d)ūm-* 'axe'; cf. RBed 91) vs. \**gdd* 'to cut' (v. in LGz 180): Akk. *gadādu* (lex.) 'to chop' (CAD G 8), Hbr. pB. *gdd* (hitpo.) 'to make incisions upon oneself' (HAL 177), Syr. *gad* 'abscidit, amputavit' (Brock 103), Arb. *ȝdd* 'couper' (BK 1 259), Gez. *gəddu* 'piece of wood cut with an axe or with a saw', Tgr. *gädda* 'to tear off', etc. (LGz 180). <> W. Chad. Angas *gurm* vs. C. Chad. Glavda *?agūra*, Mandara *gire*, E. Chad. Somrai *giti*, *ȝiri*, Jegu *giri*, *gir(k)* 'bean' <Afras. \**g(w)i/ar-* ~ \**garga/ir-* 'bean' (Mil Farm 141). <> Chad. \**kawira(-mi)-* 'hoe' (-*mi* is an instrumental suffix?): W. Chad. Hausa *kóramé* 'long-handled hoe', Ngizim *kúróm*; C. Chad. Fali-Bwagira *ta-kurmi-n* 'hoe', S. Cush. Iraqw Alagwa *kurumo* 'hoe', Asa *kurim-* 'to cultivate' vs. C. Chad. \**kwr* ~ \**krw*: Hona *kúra*, Lame *káruá*, Banana *káwira* 'hoe', Mofu *kérw*, Lame *kura* 'to hoe, prepare field for sowing', S. Cush. Ma?a *-kúru* 'to cultivate' < Afras. \**kwr* (Chad., Cush.) ~ \**?kr* (Sem.) 'to cultivate' (Mil Farm 146). <> W. Chad. Hausa *sakwami* 'hoe with a long handle' vs. Sura *sak* 'to hoe, plow', Tangale *suk* 'to plow' < Afras. \**skk*, \**swk*, \**skw/y/?* 'to cultivate, to hoe and sow' (Mil Farm 147). <> Afras. \**ȝlm* 'to be dark, black' (cf. also Stolb 1996 47): Sem. \**ȝlm* 'to be dark': Akk. *ṣalāmu* 'to become dark, turn black' (CAD § 70), Arb. *ȝlm* 'to be dark', Gez. *ṣalma* 'to grow dark, be black', etc. (v. in LGz 556), C. Chad. Buduma *ȝilum* (Luk Bud 95), Kotoko *sələmm*, E. Chad. Dangla *ȝilim-* (CLR II 29) 'black', Migama *ȝilmó* 's'assombrir' (Jung Mig 136; cf. also *ȝulūmti* 'l'ouest' *ibid.* 75), Mokilko *ȝimoló* 'ténébreux, obscure, sombre' (Jung Mkk 200; metathesis), E. Cush. Somali *qelmanayya* 'to move in the evening' (v. Abr Som 56; <\**ȝVlm-an-*), S. Cush. Qwadza *calam-* 'green' (HRSC 388) vs. Afras. \**ȝa/il-:* Sem. \**ȝil(a)l-* 'shadow, shade': Akk. *ṣullulu* 'obscure, dark' (CAD § 239), *ȝillu* 'shadow, shade' (*ibid.* 189), Arb. *ȝill* 'shadow', **Gz** *ȝələlot* 'shadow, shade, darkness' (LGz 555), etc., W. Chad. Angas *ȝil* 'shade under trees' (Stolb 1996 48 after Foulkes), Sha *ȝalā* 'Shatten (Person, Sache)' (Jung R 283), C. Chad. Gisiga *nʒala* 'west' (Stolb 1996 48), E. Cush. Sidamo *caale* 'shade' (HEC 131), S. Cush. Dahalo *tiilali* 'shadow' (EEN 8).

## -VP

Animal names:

[] Arb. *ȝakrabā?-* vs. *ȝakrab-* (in **ȝakrab**- 'scorpion', SED II No. 31).

Anatomy:

[] Arb. *ȝarmā?-* 'oreille percée' vs. *ȝarmat-* 'endroit où le nez est percé pour y passer une boucle' < \***ȝum** 'to have a notch, cut in the skin (nose, ear, lip)' (SED I Vb. No. 30). [] Arb. *ȝawbā?-* 'poitrine' vs. Hbr. pB. *ȝōb*, Jud. *ȝubbā* < \***ȝubb** or \***ȝawb**- 'chest, bosom' (SED I No. 109). [] Arb. *ȝammā?-* 'fesses' vs. *ȝammām-at-* 'milieu de la poitrine, du poitrail, sternum, etc.' < \***ȝVmm(at)-** 'breast, stomach, entrails' (SED I No. 119). [] Gez. *sanbu?* 'lung', Tgr. *sän/mbu?* 'lung; pulmonary disease', Tna. *san/mbu?* 'lung' vs. Akk. *sinibtu*, *siniptu* 'part of sheep's lung', Hbr. pB. *simpōn* 'ramified blood-vessel, artery; bronchia', etc. < Sem. \***si/anp**- < Afras. \**Si/anp-* 'lung' (SED I No. 235). [] Gez. *nahā?* (also *na?ah*) 'phlegm' vs. Jib. *nḥɔḥ* id. < \***nah**- 'mucus; mucus membrane' (SED I No. 197). [] Mhr. (Jadib) *ḥɔšərrō?* vs. E. Jib. *ḥəṣrēr*, Arb. *ḥinṣir-*, etc. < \***bi(n)sVr**- '(little) finger' (SED I No. 134).

**-V**

Animal names:

[] Arb. *kirdi*⁻, *kirda*⁻ 'poux (chez les chameaux ou chez les poules)', *kurdū*⁻ 'petite fourmi' vs. *kurd-* 'teigne qui attaque les chevaux, les chameaux' < \***kʷVrVd** // \***kVrd** 'tick' (SED II No. 135; v. in **-Vm** Animal names). [] Arb. *žanda*⁻, *žundu*⁻ 'espèce de sauterelle noire' (possibly also Amh. *gʷande*, Sel. *göndä*, Wol. *gʷändä*, Gog. *gʷändä* and similar Gur. forms 'kind of ant', if <\**gʷanda*⁻) vs. Arb. *žudžud-* 'espèce de grillon de nuit', Tgr. *gədgəd'* a species of small beetle' (v. in \***gʷa(n)dab** // \***ga(n)dab** 'cricket, locust' SED II No. 80). [] Tgr. *korə*, Tna. *kʷərə* 'frog' vs. Sem. \***kVr(V)r** 'frog' (SED II No. 137; v. in **?V**-Animal names). ◊ S. Cush. Alagwa *čembe*⁻, Burunge *čambe*⁻ 'frog' vs. Iraqw *čambebé* 'small insect drifting on top of water, tadpole', W. Chad. Hausa *čumbé* id. < Afras. \**čamb-* 'frog', probably related to Sem. \***sabb-** 'kind of lizard' (SED II No. 221).

Anatomy:

[] Syr. *parsū*⁻ 'ungula' vs. *parsətā* 'ungula (animalis); pes; solea' < \***pa₁irs** 'sole (of foot, hoof)' (SED II No. 220; ). [] Arb. *kirdi*⁻at- 'cou' vs. *kard-* id., *kurdūd-* 'dos (toute la largeur du dos chez l'homme depuis les fesses jusqu'aux épaules)', *kurdūdat-* 'le haut du dos' < Sem. \***kard-** 'neck, throat': Jib. *kərd* 'throat', etc. < Afras.: Brb. \**kərd-* 'neck' (Ayr E. Tawllemmet *ti-yərd-en* 'partie du corps située en-dessous du cou et entre les deux omoplates') SED II No. 166. [] Sem. \**gʷVr*⁻ ~ \**gʷr*⁻: Arb. *žr*⁻ 'boire par gorgées, absorber', Gez. *gʷərə*, *gurə* 'throat, neck, palate', *gʷarəaya* 'to stab the throat, slaughter, strangle', Tgr. *gərə*, *gərəat* 'neck, throat', Tna. *gʷärrä*⁻ 'to crack (adolescent's voice)', *gʷärəamä* 'to drink greedily, taking big gulps', Mhr. *gorā* 'to finish up a drink', Hrs. *gōra*, *gēro* 'to drink up', Jib. *gɔtra*⁻ 'to be all drunk, drunk up' (stem with the infixed *-t-*) vs. Hbr. *gargərōt* 'pharynx, neck', Syr. *gaggartā* 'gutter', Tna. *gʷərgʷərit* 'gozzo', *gʷäräro* 'gola, trachea', etc. < \***gʷar(gʷ)ar**⁻ 'throat, gullet' (SED II No. 102). [] N. Eth. \***?V-n̥gVd**⁻: Gez. *?əngəd*⁻/ā 'breast, chest', Tna. *?əngədə*⁻/a 'back, backbone, shoulder' vs. Arb. *nažd-* 'mamelle', Hbr. *nägäd* 'that which is opposite, in front of, before' (< \***nagd-** 'breast' SED II No. 195). [] Sem. \**šm*⁻ 'to hear' (v. in LGz 501-2, DLU 441) vs. Afras. \**sim-* 'ear': Brb. Ghadames *i-səm*, pl. *semm-en* 'oreille' (Lan 338; likely related are Ahaggar *a-sāmu* 'oreiller' Fouc 1834, Qabyle *ta-sumta* id. Dal 781, etc.), Egyp. Pyr. *smt* 'hören' (EG IV 144), C. Chad. Margi *šimi*, Mandara *šíma*, Mofu *šumay*, Logone *sim*, E. Chad. Somrai *súmí*, Lele *sumá*, Mubi *súmámú*, etc. 'ear' (CLR 114-5).

Varia:

[] Sem. \**gd*⁻ 'to cut': Hbr. *gd*⁻ 'to cut off' (HAL 180), Syr. *gd*⁻ 'amputavit' (Brock 105), Arb. *žd*⁻ 'mutiler quelqu'un' (BK 1 264), Gez. *gʷadə*⁻ 'to strike, smite, etc.' (LGz 180; also *gʷadə*⁻ id., Tna. *gʷädə*⁻ 'to crush, damage', etc. *ibid.*) vs. \**gdd* 'to cut' (*ibid.*): Akk. *gadādu* (lex.) 'to chop' (CAD G 8), Hbr. pB. *gdd* (hitpo.) 'to make incisions upon oneself' (HAL 177), Syr. *gad* 'abscidit, amputavit' (Brock 103), Arb. *ždd* 'couper' (BK 1 259), Gez. *gəddu* 'piece of wood cut with an axe or with a saw', Tgr. *gädda* 'to tear off', etc. (LGz 180).

**-*(V)b***

Animal names:

<> N. Cush. Beja *andirho/u* 'fowl', C. Cush. Qwara Dembea *dinhwā*, E. Cush. Saho Afar *dorohō*, *dorhō* 'hen' (rather borrowed into than from Gez. *dorho*, *doro*ho, Tgr. *derho* 'chicken', Tna. *därho* 'hen, chicken, fowl'; cf. also E. Chad. Tumak *déri* 'bird' < \*dVHVR-) vs. Afras. \*dVr- 'kind of bird (hen, dove)': Sem. Hbr. *dérōr* 'a kind of bird (swallow, dove?)', etc., W. Chad. Hausa *dúrwá* 'lark-quail', Dera *dárirú* 'type of swift nightbird', Buli *dédér* 'weaver bird', C. Chad. Gude *dárá* 'type of bird', Mbara *ndoro* 'green pigeon', E. Chad. Somrai *dúré* 'chicken', Mokilko *dére* 'pigeon', E. Cush. Somali *dóoro* 'chicken, hen', S. Cush. Dahalo *déere* 'woodpecker', N. Omot. Zergulla *déri*, Chara *díra*, *dérá* 'chicken' (v. in SED II No. 71; part of the forms may go back to \*dVrh-).

Anatomy:

[] Arb. *fūh-* vs. *fū*, *fum-*, etc. <**\*pay-** 'mouth' (SED I No. 223). [] Sem. **\*gVbh(-at)**- (unless an Arabism in Tgr. and MSA; v. also Hbr. pB. *gōbah*): Arb. *žabhat-* 'front', *žabah-* 'front large, vaste et beau', Tgr. *gəbbəh̥t* 'forehead', Jib. *gəbhét* 'front, brow', etc. (SED I No. 68) vs. Sem. **\*gabb(-at)**: Hbr. *gabbōt ſēnayim* 'eyebrows', Arb. *žubbat-* 'os qui forme l'orbite de l'oeil', etc. (SED I No. 66).

Varia:

<> W. Chad. Miya *darhi*, Kariya *derahi* 'road, path, way' (Sk NB 37) vs. Jimbin *dāru*, Mburku *dēri* (ibid.), Gerka *der* (Fitz 219), Karekare *n-dárū* (Luk Kr 200) 'road', Buli *dérāū* 'to go' (CLR 162) < Afras. \*dar-: Sem. Arb. *darar-* 'tracé; ligne d'une route, surtout droite' (BK 1 682), E. Cush. Yaaku *daar* 'road' (Hei Ya 132).

**-*(V)y*** (of the same origin as the relative suffix \*-Vy(y)?)

Animal names:

[] Hbr. pB. *kurpəday* vs. *kippōd* 'hedgehog' (<**k(V)inpad-** // **\*kunpud-** SED II No. 133; v. in -**r**- Animal names). [] Jud. *nōṣīṣoyētā* 'pelican', vs. *nəṣāṣā*, etc. 'hawk' < **\*na(is)s-** 'kind of bird': Ugr. *ns* 'bird, wild bird' (perhaps a raptor, esp. 'hawk, falcon'), Hbr. *nōṣā* 'falcon', etc. (SED II No. 168). [] Arb. *hubšiyyat-* 'espèce de fourmis grandes et noires' vs. Syr. *ḥabšuštā* 'scarabaeus', Tgr. *ḥabuš* 'a species of locusts' < **\*hVbVs-** 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 96). [] Gez. *bəṛrāy*, Tgr. and Tna. *bəṛray* vs. Gez. *bəṛrin* \***bVVr-** 'houshold animal; beast of burden' (SED II No. 53; v. in -**r**- Animal names). [] Gez. *dagobəyā* (*dagabəyā*, *dagobiyā*, *dogabiyā*), Amh. *dägʷäbe*, *dägobəya* vs. Tgr. *dängäbät*, Tna. *dägʷäbä* in **\*gwa(n)dab** // **\*ga(n)dab** 'cricket, locust' (SED II No. 80). [] Tgr. *komḥay* 'fourmi qui mange le miel' vs. metathetic *?ak(ə)ḥma* (*?akḥomā*) 'ants', Gez. *kāhm* (*kəhm*, *kāhm*) 'kind of ant; drone' (v. in **\*kVnh-** 'kind of insect' SED II No. 129). [] Amh. *waliya* vs. *wala* in **\*waṛil-** 'ibex' (SED II No. 244; v. in -**(V)n** Animal names). [] Sem. **\*pařibay-** 'locust': Ugr. *?irby*, Sab. *?rby*, Soq. *?erbhiyoh*, etc. vs. Akk. *erbu* and, probably, Amh. *arabo* 'tick afflicting cattle, etc.', Cha. Eža Muh. *wäräba*, Enn. Gyt. *wäräba*, Sod. *woraba* 'kind of cockroach' (SED II No. 11).

**-Vr**

Animal names:

[] Arb. *hinzīr-* (< Sem. \***bV(n)zīr** 'pig': Akk. *huzīru*, Hbr. *ḥazīr*, Gez. *hanzir*, etc.) vs. *hanzuwān-* id. (and W. Chad. Hausa *gunzū* 'wild boar' < \**hunʒ-*) SED II No. 111. [] Arb. *dabayṭarā* 'hyène' (BK 2 7; perhaps <*dabay-t-ar-*, with -*t-* <\*-*t-* assimilated to *d-* or *-y-*) vs. *dabuʕ-*, *dabʕ-* 'hyène', *dabuʕat-*, *dibʕānat-* 'hyène femelle' (ibid.) < Sem. \***šab(u)ʕ-** 'hyena' (SED II 220; v. in **-Vn** Animal names). [] Tgr. *ḥənżur* 'wasp or scarab' (less likely < Bilin *henżür* 'k. of beetle', with a singulative suffix *-ra*) vs. Tna. *ḥənżəž*, *ḥənżiž*, *ḥənżiż* 'kind of greenish-black beetle, scarab, cock-chafer', Amh. የንዱ, የንዝ 'beetle', Cha. Eža Enm. End. Gyt. የንዱ, Muh. Msq. Gog. Sod. የንዝዛ扎 'May bug' in \***bVnz(i)uz-** 'kind of insect' (SED II No. 112). [] Sem. \***gʷa(n)dVr-** // \***ga(n)dVr-** 'kind of worm' (SED II No. 81; v. in **-n-** Animal names) vs. \**gudgud-* (Arb. *žudžud-* 'espèce de grillon de nuit', Tgr. *gədgəd* 'a species of small beetle'), \**gʷandaʕ-* (Arb. *žandaʕ-*, *žunduʕ-* 'espèce de sauterelle noire', Amh. *gʷande* 'very small red ant which eats grain', etc.) and \**gʷVndan-* (Gez. *gundan* 'spider', Amh. *gundan*, *gʷəndan* 'a kind of black ant which inflicts a painful bite') cf. also \***gʷa(n)dab-** // \***ga(n)dab-** 'cricket, locust' ibid. No. 80) to be eventually reduced to a common protoform \**gV(n)d-* with different extensions. [] (?) Sem. \***bVVr-** 'household animal; beast of burden' (SED II No. 53; v. in **-ʕ-** Animal names) vs. Cush.-Omot. \**bVʕ-*: E. Cush. Yaaku *pēʔe*, S. Cush. Dahalo *bēʔa* 'buffalo', S. Omot. Hamar *bu?* 'bull, ox' (SED II No. 53). [] Sem. \***bakar-** 'large cattle': Hbr. *bākār*, Arb. *baħar-*, etc. (< Afras. \**baħVr-*? Cf. Brb. E. Tawllemmet *əbuyer* 'chameleon d'un an' and W. Chad. Hausa *baħurnā* 'red-flanked duiker') vs. Afras. \**baħw-*: Brb. Nefusa *byu* 'veau', Ayr E. Tawllemmet *e-bāyāw* 'vieux boeuf', W. Chad. Hausa *baħwan* 'dwarf buffalo', E. Chad Kera *beke* 'Vieh' (SED II No. 59). [] Sem. \**zVn/mbVr-*: Jud. *zibbōrā* 'bee, wasp', *zybwry* 'hornet', Mnd. *zimbura* 'hornet, bee', *zambura* 'wasp, hornet', Arb. *zanbūr-*, *zinbār-* 'guêpe', Gez. *zanbir* 'hornet, wasp' vs. Eth. \**zVn/mb-*: Gez. *zənb*, Tna. *zənbī*, Amh. *zəmb*, *zənb*, Arg. *zəmb*, Gaf. *zəmbä*, Har. *zəmbi*, Gur. (all dialects) *zəmb* 'fly' (v. in SED II No. 73; Eth. *z-* <\**d-* or \**z-*; in the latter case comparable to Arb. *zibb-* 'espèce de ver (*fistularia vitata*)' and C. Chad. Tera *zaba* 'termite' < \**zaHb-*). <> W. Chad. Jimi *walaroo* 'antelope' (Cosp No. 252) vs. Geji *wulli* 'gazelle' (ibid.) < Afras. \**waŋil-* 'k. of goat, gazelle' (v. in \***waŋil-** 'ibex' SED II No. 244). <> Chad. \**IVbVr-* '(large) feline': W. Chad. Sura *rəbəl* 'wild cat' (met.), E. Chad. Somrai *lārbə* 'leopard' (met.), C. Chad. Hona *lifāri*, Chibak *palvari*, Kilba *lēvari*, Margi *ha-livāri*, Higi-Nkafa *liv̥eri*, Gude *liv̥yārā*, Malgwa *ərvāl* (met.) 'lion' vs. Sem. \***labVr-** 'lion(ess)': Akk. *labbu* (*lab?u*), Hbr. *lābī*(?), etc. (SED II No. 144). <> C. Cush. \**dakʷar-* 'donkey': Bilin *dūqārā*, Khamir *dūharā*, Kemant *duħwarā*, Qwara *dekarā*, Damot *dokuarā*, Aungi *duħuarā* (CR Kem 184) vs. S. Cush. \**dakʷay-* id.: Iraqw Gorowa Alagwa Burunge *daqway* (KM 88), Qwadza *daħwaiħwayiko* (HRSC 345). <> (?) C. Cush. Bilin *sabarā* (pl. *safal*) 'Schlange', Khamir *sibrā* (pl. *sibir*, *sibil*) id. vs. Sem. Akk. *šibbu* 'a snake' (not fully reliable), Gyt. *sība*, Cha. Eža *šiba*, etc. 'kind of worm', Hrs. *šeħšeħet* 'small red worm, centipede', Mhr. *šeħsħib*, E. Jib. *šeħsħeb* 'red waterworm' < Afras.: E. Chad. Lele *súbó* 'worm', E. Cush. Oromo *siiba* 'worm', Somali *sumbay* 'tapeworm' (v. in \***šibb-** 'kind of snake, worm' SED II No. 200).

<> E. Cush. Somali *tákár* 'gadfly, horsefly, camelfly' vs. Afras. \**tV<sup>w</sup>(-an)*- 'kind of insect': Egyp. Pyr. *tkk-t*'Schlupfwespe (Ichneumonida)', S. Cush. Dahalo *takkwa?*e 'dung beetle', etc. (in \****k<sup>w</sup>Vt(tān)***, \****tuk<sup>w</sup>ān*** // \****kut(tān)***, \****tukān*** 'bug' SED II No. 122). <> E. Cush. Somali *dámeer* 'male donkey' (Abr Som 46), Bayso *demer* 'ass' (Dolg 1973 275) vs. Afras. \**dam(dam)*- 'k. of equid': Sem. Akk. *damdammu* (*damdāmu*, *daddāmu*) 'a mule' (CAD D 64), Brb. Zenaga *dəmma* 'mahari (camel)' (R Bass Zen 204), Afar *daami* 'Zebra' (RAf 834). <> E. Cush. Tsamai and S. Omot. Ongota *hangarar-o* 'worm' (a loan from Tsamai into Ongota or vice versa) vs. Sem. \****hV(n)g*** 'kind of worm, centipede': Tna. *həngugu* 'kind of black worm living in water', Jib. *həz̪jöt* 'large, blind black segmented centipede' (SED II No. 100). <> Afras. \****ʒVmVr***- '(wild) ungulate': Sem. Ugr. *zmr*, Hbr. *zämär*, etc., Brb. Siwa *i-zmər*, Semlal *izimer* 'bélier', Nefusa *zamər*, Zenaga *əži?mər*, Qabyle *izimer* 'agneau', S. Cush. Dahalo *žumúru* 'male waterbuck' vs. Brb. Ahaggar *ehəm*, Ayr E. Tawlemmet *ezəm*, *ešəm* 'antilope oryx', Siwa *izəm*, pl. *izamm-ən* 'gazelle', Zenaga *ə-žəmmi* 'gazelle à front roux' and, perhaps, W. Chad. Kulere *?nzám* 'Widder' (in \****zVm***- 'gazelle' SED II No. 253). <> Afras. \****dV(n)gur***-: E. Chad. Gabri *dūgūru* 'elephant', Sokoro *dūger* 'rhinoceros', N. Omot. Zaise *dongor* 'elephant' (Bla Eleph 199), S. Omot. Ari *dangór*, Kara *dongur* id., etc. (Bnd Ar 149) vs. Cush.-Omot. \****dangw***-: S. Cush. Iraqw *daangw* 'elephant' (KM 87), N. Omot. Kafa *dangiyō*, Mocha *dängao* 'elephant' (Bla Eleph 199), Shinasha *dāngaso*, *dəngiyō* (Bnd Om 163). <> Afras. \****dVbVr***- 'kind of insect': Sem. Hbr. *dəbōrā* '(wild) honey-bee', Arb. *dabbūr-* 'bourdon, grosse mouche, frelon; reine-abeille', Amh. *dib<sup>w</sup>ara* (in *dib<sup>w</sup>ara zəmb*) 'a yellow fly which afflicts cattle', etc., W. Chad. Ngamo *ndəbūrō* 'locust', C. Chad. Gude *dəvūrəgá* 'sausage fly', etc. vs. Afras. \****dVb***- 'ant, (flying) termite, fly': Sem. Arb. *daba<sup>n</sup>* 'petites sauterelles; petites fourmis' (cf. Arb. Omn. *dabiyy* 'abeilles'), W. Chad. Dera *díbín*, *díwín* 'fly', E. Chad. Kera *ádəbdəbə* 'Tsetsefliege' ('termite' in other Chad.), N. Omot. Hozo *dabbi* 'termite' (\****di/ab(b)ür*** 'bee, wasp' SED II No. 66). <> Afras. \****ʒVbir***- 'hornet': Sem. Hrs. *debēr*, Mhr. *dəbēr*, Jib. *edbir* 'hornet, fly' (probably also Soq. *édbéhir* 'abeille'), Brb. Ahaggar *əzənbibər* 'esp. de de coleoptères (4 cm long)', Ayr E. Tawllemmet *əzəbbənər* (unless *z- < \*ʒ*) 'bubreste' (v. in \****di/ab(b)ür*** 'bee, wasp', No. 66) vs. Afras. \****ʒibab***- 'kind of flying insect': Mhr. *dobbēt*, Hrs. *debbēt*, Jib. *dəbbət* (perhaps also Soq. *?edbíboh*) 'fly', W. Chad. Hausa *žibā* 'small anthill', Ngizim *žabūwā* 'honey; bee' (Sch Ng 183), C. Chad. Bura *žeba* 'locust in the hopper state', Fali-Gili *žibi* 'fly', Bata *žəbi* 'fly', E. Chad. Migama *?žimbé* 'bee, honey' (in \****dVb(V)b*** 'fly', No. 73). <> Afras. \****ʒVmVr***- 'k. of ungulate': Sem. \****zVm***- 'gazelle', Brb. Fodjaha *zamar*, Siwa *i-zmər* 'bélier', Zenaga *əži?mər*, Qabyle *izimər* 'agneau', S. Cush. Dahalo *žumúru* 'male waterbuck' vs. Brb. Ahaggar *ehəm*, Ayr *ezamm* 'antilope oryx', Siwa *izəm*, Zenaga *əžəmmi* 'gazelle', (?) W. Chad. Kulere *?nzám* 'Widder' (v. in \****zVm***- 'gazelle' SED II No. 253). <> Afras. \****ča/iw(a)r***- 'bull; elephant' (cf. \****tawr***- 'bull, ox' (SED II No. 241)): Sem. Akk. *šūru*, Arb. *tawr*, etc., C. Chad. Bura-Pele *čiwar*, Chibak *isiwar*, Kilba *čuwar*, Margi *čúwar*, Nzangi *čuware* 'elephant', S. Cush. Ma?a *čurú* 'bull', N. Omot. Kačama *šoro* 'rhinoceros' vs. C. Chad. Higi-Nkafa *čuwe*, Bata *čūč* 'elephant' (CLR 124-5), probably also N. Cush. Beja *šu* 'rhinoceros' (Bla Beja 270 after Hudson; <\**čVw*- or \**sVw*-) and N. Omot. Basketo *ošá?*, Wol. *oswā*, Zala *osoā* 'rhinoceros' (Bla Eleph 201; <\**?V-čVw*- or \**?V-sVw*-).

## Anatomy:

[] Arb. *kuḍr-* 'graisse des reins' (BK 2 905; perhaps related to W. Chad. Bolewa *śidər*, Ngamo *śidər* 'fat' if the latter ones are from \**kičar-*, cf. Stolb 1987 208) vs. Afras. \**kVw/yač-* 'fat': W. Chad. Hausa *kiče* (less likely <\**kičVr-*), E. Chad. Kwang *kăysi*, Sokoro *kaisi*, C. Chad. Muktele *akwas*, Logone *kaysə* (CLR 132-3), N. Omot. Shinasha *kōcā*, *kosa*, *kwoča*, Kafa *kočō* (Bnd Om 164), Mao (Seze) *kōssí*, Hozo *koca* (ibid. 272), S. Omot. Dime *kuuštu* (ibid. 209). [] Eth. \**ŋ/pankār* 'throat, uvula, neck': Gez. *panka/är* 'the interior part of the mouth, throat', Tgr. *pankär* 'uvula, throat', Tna. *pankär* 'ugola', Amh. *ankä/ar* 'uvula', Arg *ənkört* 'goitre, Adam's apple', Har *ənkorti*, Masqan Goggot Soddo *ənkört* 'goitre' vs. \**ŋ/pitunk-* 'neck': Jud. *ŋi/unkā*, *punkā*, Arb. *unk-*, *ŋunuk-*, *ŋunak-* 'cou', etc. (cf. SED I No. 15). [] S. Eth.: Sel. *gubr*, Cha. Eža Enn. *gʷəbər*, Gye. *gubʷər* 'hunchbacked' vs. Amh. *gʷäbäbb alä* 'to be hunchbacked', Syr. *gəbībā* 'gibbosus', etc. < \****gVb(V)b***, \****gVb(b)-an-*** 'hump, hunch' (SED I No. 67). [] Mod. Eth. \**dnkʷr*: Tna. *dänkʷärrä* 'to be dumb', Amh. *dänakkʷärrä* 'to be deaf, dumb', Msq. Gog. *dänakkʷärrä* 'to be deaf', Sel. *donkōro* 'deaf, stupid', etc. (Lgur 215) vs. Eth. \**dŋk(w)*: Gez. *dankawa* 'to be deaf, stupid', Har. Sel. *dōnka*, Wol. *donkä* 'deaf' < Sem. \****dŋk*** 'to be deaf, stupid': Arb. *dāník-* 'sot, bête' (SED I Vb. No. 9). [] MSA: Mhr. *gəsōr* 'side of chest' and perhaps 'chest cavity', Soq. *gīsor* 'poitrine' (probably related to Arb. *žušrat-* 'aspérité de la voix, enrouement et toux', *žašar-* 'dureté, aspérité de la voix, provenant de l'enrouement, du rhume') vs. Mhr. *gəs̥sēt* 'body, corpse', Jib. *gēs̥ot* 'side' < Sem. \**gišš-* 'torso, side, body': Akk. *giššu* (*gilšu*) 'hip, flank', Hbr. pB. *gäsäs* 'side, arm', Syr. *gessā* 'coxa, latus (linguae, palati); cingulum pubis', Arb. *žawš-* 'poitrine', likely < Afras. \**gay/wē-*: W. Chad.: Diri *ngešē*, Geji *ngeši* 'chest', Polchi *gwəš* 'shoulder' (differently interpreted in Stolb 1996 119; cf. SED I No. 97). [] Soq. *m⁰s̥imbəhər* 'moustaches longues' (<\**mV-si(m)bVr* or, with -*m-* of the second syllable <-*n-* before -*b*, < \**mV-sinbVr*, with metathesis <\**mV-nsibVr*) vs. *m̥ensub* (<*mV-nsub*, cf. *ŋənsöb*, with *ŋV-* prefixed), Mhr. *mənsōb*, Hrs. *mensōb*, Jib. *mōsōt* (<*mVsVb-Vt*) 'pubic hair' (in <***š/sVb-***, \****ŋV-š/sVb-*** 'pubic hair' SED I No. 239). [] Sem. \**ḳantir-* 'clitoris, vulve': Arb. Dat. *ḳantār* 'clitoris', Soq. *kánthir* 'vulve', Amh. Sel. Wol. Cha., etc. *ḳənṭər* 'clitoris, female genital organ' (< Afras.? Cf. Oromo Qabenna *ḳintira*, Somali *kintir*, Saho *ḳintar* id., unless < Eth.; cf. SED I No. 163) vs. \**ḳV(n)t-* 'sexual parts': Tur. *ḳūṭo* 'vulva' (Ritter 404), N.-Syr. *ḳūṭā* 'womb' (Mcl 272), Arb. *ḳant-* 'verge chez un petit garçon' (BK 2 822; -*t*- < \*-*t*- by dissimilation from *ḳ-*), Tna *ḳənṭ* 'vulva; lower or back part' (LH 252), Amh. *ḳiṭ* 'buttocks, anus' (K 826) < Afras. \**ḳV(n)t/d-*: W. Chad. Hausa *ḳōda*, C. Chad. Gava *kiđi-nwa*, Paduko *kúda-ma* 'testicles' (Stolb 1996 66), Mofu *kuđey* 'pénis' (MG 148), etc., C. Cush. Bilin *qit* 'vulva' (RBed 247), Khamir *hudá* 'vulva; anus' (RKham 369), E. Cush. Somali *qood* 'penis with testicles' (Abr Som 203), Konso *qand-itta* 'udder; swollen or abnormally big gland', Burji *ḳand-i* 'clitoris' (Sas Burji 124, with a different interpretation), S. Cush. Burunge *qendi*, Qwadza *ḳendi* 'vulva' (HRSC 368), S. Omot. Ari Galila *ḳanti* 'testicles' (Bla Bed 61, with a different interpretation of Cush.-Omot. data). [] Arb. *zanbūr-* 'membrum virile' vs. *zubb-* 'verge, pénis (de l'homme ou d'un autre mâle); bout de la barbe; nez', Hbr. pB *zubbān* 'the bag which contains a male animal's member' <***zubb-*** (SED I No. 293). [] Sem. \****pi/akr-at-*** 'neck, vertebra, occiput': Azr. *p̥karta* 'neck, nape', *fakrat-*, *fikrat-* 'vertèbre', Soq. *fikeriřoh* 'cou, nuque' (cf. also metathetic \****pi/ak-at-***:

Hbr. *mapräkät* 'neck', Syr. *pārakṭā* 'cervices', etc.; v. in SED No. 219) vs. **\*pV̥k-** 'neck': Jud. *?apkōtā* 'neck', Mnd. *p̥kuta*, *apkuta* 'neck, throat', Arb. *fā?ik-* 'endroit où le cou se joint à la tête', Tgr. *fokay* 'shoulder' (SED I No. 213). [] Sem. **\*š(x)VnzVr-** 'to measure with the span (by turning a rope around one's palm)', **\*š(x)VnzVr-** 'span' (cf. differently in SED I No. 251): Hbr. *mošzār* 'twisted' (hop., part.), Mnd. *šanziria* (pl.) 'the ropes', Arb. *šzr* 'retourner la main à droite en brandissant la lance; tordre, donner un tour de droite à gauche à la corde', Gez. *səz(ə)r* 'span', Tgr. *sənzər* 'palme', *sänzäärä* 'mesura par palmes', Tna. *sänzäärä* 'to measure with the span', Amh. *sənzər*, Har. *zunzurti*, Sel. Wol. Zw. *sənzər*, Cha. Enn. Gye. *zəsər*, etc. 'span', Mhr. *šežər* 'span of thumb to forefinger', *házer* 'measure', Jib. (E.) *šežr*, (C.) *šežər* 'span between thumb and index', Soq. *šežir* 'empan' vs. Akk. *šizū* 'one-third cubit' OB on (CAD Š<sub>3</sub> 152; AHw 1254). [] Sem. **\*SV̥t(V)r-** 'flat hand, span': Hbr. pB. *s̥tr* 'to strike sideways, slap', Jud. *s̥tr (aph)* 'to strike with the flat hand', Mhr. *šežər* 'measure, span between the end of the thumb and the forefinger' vs. **\*si(n)t-** 'palm, span' (cf. in SED I No. 236): Hbr. pB. *\*s̥it* in *ha-s̥it* 'the distance between the tip of the thumb and that of the index finger when held apart, or between the root of the thumb and the tip of the index finger when the former is leaning against the latter' (cf. *s̥et* 'handle; swinging the forefinger'), Syr. *s̥ītā* 'palmus', Arb. *sint-* 'poignet, os qui joint l'avant-bras à la main' (though Mhr. *šežər* points to *\*š-* rather than to *\*s-*, the coincidence in meaning with Hbr. *\*s̥it* cannot be accidental). <> Afras. **\*di(m)bur-** 'back': Sem. **\*dVb(V)r-** 'back, hind part' (Mnd. *dibra* 'back, tail', Arb. *dubr-* 'partie postérieure, derrière; dos; nuque', etc. SED I No. 46), W. Chad. Hausa *dúbúrà* 'anus' (Abr Hs 227; unless < Arb.), Chip *b̥eder* 'buttocks' (Kr I 39; metathesis), C. Chad. W. Margi *dīmbur id.* (ibid. II 72), (?) E. Cush. Somali *qabar* 'back' (Abr Som 39; *d-* instead of *d-* is unusual) vs. Afras. **\*dub-** ~ **\*damb-** 'tail; back': W. Chad. Sura *tup* 'tail' (<*\*dub-* Stolb 1987 169), C. Chad. Gisiga *duba*, Mafa *dəba*, Gidar *dubo*, Musgu *dəba*, etc. 'back' (CLR 7), C. Cush. Bilin *dän/mbi* 'Rücken' (RBil 107), E. Cush. Somali *dabo* 'tail, buttocks' (Abr Som 40; cf. *dambe* 'at the back' ibid. 46), Oromo *duboo* 'sheep's tail' (Gr 110), Alaba *ubbo* 'tail', Hadiya *ubbo* 'behind', etc. (PEC 16), N. Omot. Kullo *dupia* (Bnd Om 25), Kafa Anfillo *dombō* 'vulva' (Cer Caf 430), S. Omot. Hamar *dibini* 'tail' (Bnd Om 218). <> Afras. **\*ḥankar-** 'larynx, gorge': Brb. Ahaggar *t-ankar-t* 'gosier' (Fouc 1380), N. Cush. Beja (Amar'ar) *hánkar* 'uvula' (Bla Bed 58), *ankar* 'Gaumen, Schlund, Kehle' (ibid. after RBed) vs. Afras. **\*ḥank-** 'palate, gorge': Sem. **\*ḥanak-**, **\*ḥink-**: Syr. *ḥenkā* 'palatum', Mnd. *hinka* 'palate, throat', Arb. *ḥanak-* 'palais', Gez. *ḥanaka* 'to munch, chew', Hrs. *ḥénnék* 'palate and uvula' (SED I No. 124), Brb. Ahaggar *ḥənəkk-ət* 'râler de la gorge' (Fouc 618), N. Cush. Beja *hanák* 'Gaumen, Kehle' (RBed 123; possibly but not necessarily borrowed from Arb.).

Varia:

[] Akk. *ḥamadīru* 'shriveled or withered' (CAD Ḥ 57), *ḥamadīrūtu* 'shrivelling (said of trees)' (ibid. 58) vs. Sem **\*ḥmd** 'to be shriveled, extinguished': Hbr. pB. *ḥmd* 'to produce shrivelling by heat' (Ja 475), Arb. *ḥmd* 'cesser de flamber (se dit du feu, quand la flamme s'éteint)' (BK 1 630), Mhr. *ḥəmūd* 'to be extinguished, burnt out' (JM 443). [] Akk. *dikāru* 'a bowl with a round bottom for serving and heating' (CAD D 157; cf. C. Cush. Bilin *darawqā*, *daraqʷā* 'Ton, Tonerde, Lehm': metathesis or *-r-* inserted?) vs. Soq. *dekaḥhān* 'boue' (LS 133) < Afras. **\*dV̥k-** 'clay, earthenware':

Brb. Semlal *idəkki* 'argile à poteries' (Dest 20), W. Chad. \**dVk-* 'to build, make of clay' (Stolb 1987 174) < \**dik-* 'to build, established, marry' (Stolb 1996 38; semantically less convincingly): Hausa *dákó* 'dark, rich, dry clay-soil' (Abr Hs 175), Karekare *dako* 'to build, make earthenware pots', Sura *dik*, Chip *dík* 'to build' (Stolb 1987 174), C. Cush. Qwara *dahwā*, Khamir *doqwā* 'Ton, Lehm' (RQw 48); differenly in Dolg 1973 56-7. [] Jud. *zūtār* 'small, young' (Ja 386), Syr. *zūtərā* 'puellus' (Brock 194), Mnd. *ztr* 'to be small' (DM 165) vs. Jud. *zūtā* 'slender, young, small' (Ja 385), Syr. *zūtā* 'puellus' (Brock 192), Mnd. *zuta* 'small, little' (DM 164). [] Arb. *kmt* 'nouer, lier une outre, etc.' (BK 2 813) vs. *kmt* 'lier avec la corde tous les quatre pieds à la fois; réunir (les chameaux) de manière qu'ils se suivent à la file' (ibid.), Gez. *kammaṭa* 'to hold tightly, bind sheaves, bend' (LGz 433; counter to Leslau, not directly related to Sem. \**kms*, unless to be treated as a variant root). [] Amh. (*tä*)*gäddärä* 'germinate', Har. *g(i)dīr* 'big', Wol. Zw. *gädärä* 'to grow up (child), be big' (LGur 264), Arb. *ždr* 's'élever au-dessus du sol (se dit des plantes)' (BK 1 263) < Sem. \**gdr* 'to become big, grow' vs. Afras. \**gVd(d)-*: Arb. *židd-* 'beaucoup, extrêmement' (ibid. 260), Brb. C. Morocco (without specifying the language) *gudy* 'é. nombreux, beaucoup, abonder', *sgudy* 'produire beaucoup, en grande quantité' (DRB 737-8; cf. Ahaggar *egdeh*, Ayr *egdu* 'suffire' ibid. 727), W. Chad. Bolewa *godo* 'many' (Kr I 87), N. Cush. Beja *gwud* 'many', E. Cush. Arbore *guuda* 'many', Dasenech *guddu* 'big' (Bla Om No. 5.2), Oromo *guddaa* 'big; greatly, very' (Gr 184), S. Omot. Dime *geed* 'big' (Bnd Om 205), Ongota *gadah/hune*, *gaddahino* (Fl Ong 42), *gadda?uni*, pl. *gidde?eta* 'big, old' (S-T 117). [] Arb. *katīr-* 'beaucoup, nombreux' (BK 2 867) vs. *ktt* 'é. épais, épaisse (liquide)' (BK 1 865), Akk. *kašāšu* 'massig werden' (AHw 462; not in CAD) < Afras. \**kVč-*? Cf. C. Chad. Mbara *kočo* 'many, much' (TSL 283), C. Cush. Khamta *eksät* 'molto' (CR Khmt 204). [] Cha. Eža *məsarä*, Enn. Gye. *məsa?arä* 'night' (LGur 430: "probably from the root *msy* 'be evening' (see *mäšä*) with an enigmatic suffix *-ra*") vs. Cha. Gye. *mäšä*, Eža *mäššä*, etc. 'to be evening' < Sem. \**(?a-)mVš-* 'evening, night': Gez *mäsyä* 'evening', Hbr. *?ämäs* 'yesterday evening', Arb. *msy* 'to become evening' (ibid. 432). [] Cha. Eža etc. *mäčra* 'when?' (for the past) vs. Cha. Eža Gye. etc. *mäčä* 'when?' (for the future) < Sem.: Amh. *mäčä*, Arb. *matā*, Hbr. *mātay* id. (LGur 387). [] Enn. *näb?atöra*, Gye. *näb?atra* 'fourth day ago' vs. Enn. Gye. *näb?atä* 'fourth day from today' < *nab?ät* 'four days' < *arbät* < *rb?* (LGur 447). [] Cha. Eža Gye. Msq. *gädär* 'new' (LGur 264) vs. Arb. *žadīd-* 'neuf, nouveau, récent' (BK 1 261). [] Jib. *gədrēt* 'earth' (compared in JJ 71 with Soq. *gədhar* 'reddish-brown', not in LS) vs. Arb. *žadad-* 'terrain uni et dur' (BK 1 260) < Afras.: C. Chad. Banana *ná-gada* 'Erde' (Lk ZSS 129), E. Chad. Sokoro *gēde* 'fertile soil' (ibid. 42), S. Cush. Dahalo *gudde* 'land' (EEN 32). [] Arb. *mizr-* 'sorte de boisson faite de millet', *mazar-* 'sorte de boisson enivrante préparée de froment' (BK 2 1099), Sab. *mzr-m* 'date-wine' (SD 89), Gez. *mazara* 'to prepare beer from grain', *məzr* 'beer, ale' (LGz 379) vs. Akk. *mazū* adj. qualifying beer OA, SB (CAD M1 439) < Afras.: C. Cush. Bilin *māz*, Qemant *mīz*, E. Cush. Saho *mez* 'mead' (LGz 377; cf. Afar *mes* id. below). [] Gez. *məsr* 'beer, ale' (LGz 367; cf. *məzr* 'beer, ale' above) vs. Gez. *mys*, *mesa* 'to serve mead at a banquet', *mes* 'drink made from fermented honey, mead', Tna. Tgr. *mes* 'mead' id. (ibid. 377; otherwise all from Cush.) < Sem. \**mayt-*: Arb. *myt* 'dissoudre quelque chose dans l'eau, et macérer une drogue dans l'eau'; VIII 'boire quelque chose après avoir délayé d'eau' (BK 2 1170) < Afras. \**miwač-* 'alcoholic

drink': W. Chad. Mupun *mwés* 'alcoholic drink' (Fr Mup 39), Sura *mwɔ̄s* 'Bier' (Jung Sura 206), Ankwe *mwess*, Montol *mūs* 'beer' (Fitz 214), E. Cush. Afar *mēs* 'Honigwein, Hydromel' (RAf 884; < Eth? Cf. Saho *mez*, v. above), Oromo *mačč-aawa* (HEC 54; cf. comments in HSED No. 1702: "note -č- preserved in Oromo in contrast to the expected reflex of \*č> LEC \*s, \*š"; on the contrary, I tend to Oromo *f*< Afras. \*č while -čč- in the above case seems unusual), Konso *maašš-ood-* 'to get drunk' (Lmb-Sot 475), Darasa *maččo?*-, Burji *mass-aaw-* 'to be drunk' (HEC 54; cf. Sidamo *maččarar-*, Kambatta *maččaar-* 'to be crazy', commented in Lmb-Sot 475 as "addition of a formative suffix"), Gawayada *mečč-aw-*, Dobase *mass-a?*- 'to get drunk, intoxicated' (Lmb-Sot 475), N. Omot. Wolayta *matt-oot-*, Gamo *matts-ott-*, Kafa *maš-*, Bworo *mašš-* 'to get drunk' (ibid. 474-5). [] Jib. *esber* 'to fence off' (JJ 232) < Afras.? Cf. Egyp. Pyr. *sb*; 'Tor, Tür' (EG IV 83; likely < \*sbr), W. Chad. Hausa *çábařá* 'wooden stakes used to strengthen a mat screen' (Barg Hs 1021) vs. Arb. (Oman) *sība* 'fortification', Gez. *sībā* 'outskirts of a city' (according to LGz 482, probably from Omani Arb.) < Afras.? Cf. C. Chad. Bura *čiba* 'a fence or pen; an outside enclosure for cattle' (Bura 37), E. Cush. Afar *sabsab* 'Mauer' (RAf 895); cf. CHVAL 3 20-21. [] Sem. \**zmr* 'to sing, play an instrument': Akk. Ugr. Hbr. Syr. Arb. Eth. (HAL 273; LGz 639; DRS 751) vs. \**zm(m)* ~ \**zmzm* 'to sound, resound; sing': Syr. *zam* 'susurravit, sonuit' (Brock 198), Mnd. *zmm* 'to hum, resound' (DM 169), *zwm* 'to hum, buzz' (ibid. 164), Arb. *zmzm* 'produire un murmure qu'on peut entendre au loin' (BK 1 1011), Gez. *zemā* 'song, liturgical chant', Tna. Amh. Gur. *zema* 'song, mode of singing', Gez. *zəmmāmē*, Tna. Amh. *zemmama* 'rhythm of singing, etc.' (LGz 638). [] Sem. \**kidr* 'earthenware' (cf. Akk. *dikāru* 'a bowl with a round bottom for serving and heating' above): Hbr. pB. *kādēr*, Jud. *kīdərā* 'pot' (Ja 1318), Syr. *kedrā* 'olla' (Brock 649), Arb. *kidr-* 'chaudron, marmite en cuivre' (BK 2 686), Mhr. *kādēr* 'pot' (JM 224; probably an Arabism) vs. Afras. \**kʷad-* or \**kadw-*: (metathetically related to Afras. \**dVk-* 'clay, earthenware' above?): Akk. *kadūtu* 'mud, sediment' (CAD Q 52), Egyp. Med. *kd* 'Topf' (EG V 72), Pyr. *iķd-w* 'Topfer' (EG V 74), W. Chad. Kirfi *kwado*, Gera *kwada* 'calabash', E. Chad. Dangla *koda* 'pot' (HSED No. 1579), E. Cush. Oromo *qodā* 'furniture; vessel' (Gr 325), *qadāda* 'cover; vessel; gourd' (ibid. 314), S. Cush. Dahalo *k'ōdo* 'long narrow calabash' (EEN 19; cf. HSED Nos. 1579 and 1534). <> Brb. Ahaggar *asafar* 'medicament' (Fouc 1808; cf. also Qabyle *asafar* 'ingrédient' Dal 761) vs. Sem. Arb. *sifā?-* 'médicament', *sfw* III 'traiter un malade' (BK 1 1104), Tgr. *säffä* 'to cure, treat medically' (LH 202; hardly < Arb., cf. Tna. *säfāfā* 'to rub, anoint, massage' K Tna 800), probably < Afras., cf. Brb. Ahaggar *ésafe* (Fouc 1806), Ayr E. Tawllemmet *esafe* (Aloj 170) 'ventouse', C. Chad. Musgu *šimfi* 'heilen' (Luk Msg 76); cf. CHVAL 3 19. <> W. Chad. Ngizim *gazbər* 'tall, long, deep' (Sch Ng 73) vs. Afras. \**gVžVb*- 'long': Sem. Arb. *žadbat-* 'certaine distance, certaine étendue de route, distance entre deux relais', *ždb* 'tirer; éloigner un objet d'un autre en le tirant à soi' (BK 268), Jib. *gōdōb* 'to pull out' (JJ 71), Mhr. *gōdōb* id. (JM 115), E. Cush. Gawayada *sikāpa* (< \**zigab-*), Harso Gollango *sikaapa* (AMS 254; metathesis) 'lang', S. Omot. Hamar *gúdub* 'long' (Bnd Om 213: synchronically treated as *gúd+ub* which needs argumentation). <> Afras. \**bVhVr-*: Sem. Hbr. Jud. Syr. Mnd. *bhr* 'to shine, be bright' (HAL 112), Arb. *bhr* 'to shine', *brh* (met.) 'to be white', Gez. *barha* (met.) 'to shine, be bright, light', Soq. *birihot* (met.) 'light' (LGz 103-4), Chad. \**buhar-* 'to shine' (Stolb 1996 25): W.

Chad. Tangale *bər*, Boghom *buur*, C. Chad. Bachama *bura*, Musgu *bara* vs. Afras. \**bVhVw-*: Arb. *bhw* 'briller', *bahā?*- 'éclat, splendeur' (BK 1 174), W. Chad. Bokkos *bwè* 'Sonne' (Jung R 140), Daffo-Butura *bwè* 'Sonne, Tag' (ibid. 213), C. Chad. Dghwede *biyà* 'light' (Frick), Glavda *mbi* 'shine' (RM 65). <> (?) Afras. \**ca(m)bVr-* 'musical instrument': Tgr. *säbara* 'a flute-melody' (LH 183), W. Chad. Hausa *sámbárá* 'piece of corn-stalk rubbed between hands as accompaniment to fiddle' (Abr Hs 774), N. Omot. Mocha *šúmbiro* 'flute of shepherd' (LMč 51) vs. \**cabVb-* 'reed pipe, flute': (?) Akk. OAkk. *šabītu* 'a musical instrument' (Gelb OA 263), Arb. *šabābat-* 'flûte, roseau à jouer' (BK 1 1181), Egyp. Med. *šbb* 'Röhre aus Schilfrohr' (EG IV 439). <> Afras. \**(?a-)da(n)g<sup>(w)</sup>Vr-* 'kind of beans': Sem. Syr. *dagr-*, Arb. *dažr-, dužr-, dužur-*; Mhr. *dēžir*, Jib. *dəgərǟt*, pl. *dugur*, Sqq. *dígir* (Tgr. *?adung<sup>w</sup>əra*, Tna. *?adang<sup>w</sup>əra*, Amh. *adäng<sup>w</sup>are*, Gaf. *adäng<sup>w</sup>arä*, S. Arg. *adongure*, Gur. *adäng<sup>w</sup>arre* id. ibid. are likely Cushitisms), E. Chad. Sokoro *dagir* 'millet', C. Cush. Bilin Khamir *adogur*, Damot Aungi *adangwari* 'bean', E. Cush. Som. *digir* 'fagioli', Oromo *adang<sup>w</sup>ar* 'beans' (cf. also *otongora* id.), Saho *adagur* id. vs. Afras. \**da/ing<sup>(w)</sup>-* 'kind of beans; corn': Sem. Sqq. *dengo* 'haricots', Egyp. OK *ddw* 'kind of grain', Brb. Ayr *te-dängāw-t* 'grenier de céréales', W. Chad. Hausa *dangwa-mi* 'a gruel made with the mealy pulp found inside locust-bean pods', Angas *tang* 'corn', E. Chad. Nanchere *tinge* 'bean', (?) C. Cush. Bilin *baldang<sup>w</sup>ā* 'Bohne, Faba', E. Cush. Saho *bar/ldangā* 'ein bestimmte Bohnengattung' (the meaning of the first element of these composed words is not clear); v. in Mil Farm 140.

## -V (Brock. ZS)

Animal names:

[] Akk. *ḥurbabillu* (*urbabillu*) vs. Arb. *ḥirbā?*- and, possibly, Ebl. *ḥur-ba-um* in \***ḥVib-** 'chameleon' (SED II No. 101). [] Arb. *žadlā?*- 'chienne' (BK 1 267; < Afras.? Cf. E. Cush. Oromo *gedallo* 'sciacallo' Thiene 126) vs. Chad. (cf. also Arb. *?abū ža?dat-* 'loup' Belot 63): W. Chad. Ngizim *gádá-múzái* 'hyena' (CLR 204), C. Chad. Dghwede *gde*, Mofu *gidey*, E. Chad. Mokilko *gédé* 'dog' (ibid. 107). [] Gog. Muh. Msq. *kəmčəlla* 'gnat' (č < \*ṣ with dissimilation from k-? Cf. also Cha. Enn. Gye. *kəmčəna*, Eža *kəmčənna*) vs. \***kam(a)s-** 'kind of (harmful) insect': Jud. *kamšā* 'locust', Arb. *kamas-* 'petites mouches ou petits insectes qui rassent la surface d'une eau stagnante; petites sauterelles qui viennent d'éclore', Jib. *kīš* 'kind of camel bug' (SED II No. 131). [] Sem. \***gawzal-** 'young bird, fledgling' (cf. SED II No. 86): Hbr. *gōzāl* 'turtledove; young eagle', Jud. *gōzālā* 'brood, chick, esp. pigeon', Arb. *žawzal-* 'petit (de pigeon)' (likely related is Amh. *gəz(z)al* 'k. of bird of prey' -- cf. the second meaning of the Hbr. term), probably metathetically related to Afras. (cf. also Syr. *zūgallā* 'pullus columbinus' with the same order of radicals as in Chad. and Cush. below): W. Chad. Hausa *žigāl* 'vulture', C. Cush. \**ž/ʒVgl-* 'bird': Bilin *žayalā*, Dembea Qwara *žaglā*) vs. Sem. \***gwaz-** or \***gVz-** (SED II No. 87): Amh. *gʷəza* 'a kind of hawk', Gez. *gʷəzā*, *guzā* 'bird of prey, falcon, hawk', Hbr. pB. *gaz(gas)* 'name of a bird of prey', etc. (SED II No. 87; cf. also E. Chad. Dangla *guzí* 'passereau' ibid.). [] Sem. \***haml-** ~ \***ḥVim-** 'kind of insect': Akk. *ḥilammu* 'a locust', Hrs. *hemlēt* 'animal bug, pest', etc. (SED II No. 109) vs. Akk. *ḥamītu* 'Sandwespe' < Afras.? Cf. Egyp. NE *ḥmy* 'Sandfliege' (unless < \**ḥml*). [] Sem. \***nam(V)l-** 'ant': Akk. *namalu*, Hbr. *nəmālā*, Arb. *naml-*, etc. vs. Arb. *nimm-at-* 'ant, louse'

likely < Afras.: C. Chad. Daba *nimī* 'termite qui vole' (unless an Arabism) and S. Cush. Alagwa *namahā* 'termites' (in SED II No. 163). [] (?) Sem. \***kV<sub>i</sub>(VI)**- 'kind of bird' (SED II No. 136): Syr. *ḳurlā* 'grus', Arb. *ḳirillā* 'espèce d'oiseau', Gog. *ḳarulle* 'kind of bird' (< Afras.? Cf. E. Chad. Dangla *kōɔrla* 'oiseau passériforme, très coloré', E. Cush Yaaku *kil'érúa* 'Egyptian vulture') vs. \***kʷari<sup>?</sup>y-** // \***kāri<sup>?</sup>y-** 'kind of bird, partridge': Hbr. *kōrē*(?) 'partridge', Arb. *kāriy-at-*, *kāriyy-at-* 'sorte d'oiseau aux jambes courtes, au bec long et au plumage du dos vert', Amh. *kʷərəyye* (*kuriyyä*) 'migrating crane; large white crane with a long beak', probably related to Afras. \***kʷayr-** 'kite, raven, crow': Sem. Gez. *kāker* 'crow', Amh. *kʷəra* (*kura*) 'crow, raven' (< C. Cush.?), etc., E. Chad. Dangla *kōrē* 'espèce de corbeau noir', C. Cush. Khamta *qurā*, Qwara *qurā*, Aungi *kura*, E. Cush. E.: Oromo *kurruu*, Hadiya *kor-aan-ta*, N. Omot. Wolayta *kuuruwa*, Bworo *akokora*, etc. 'crow' (SED II No. 134). [] Afras. \***dVbal-**'ram, goat, calf': Sem. Arb. *dawbal-* 'wild boar, suckling pig', Gez. *dābelā* 'billy goat, bull, male of any animal', Tgr. *däbela* 'ram', Tna. *dibäla*, Amh. *dabela*, *däbäl* 'billy goat' (LGz 120-21; in view of a very tenable Arb. parallel, less likely < Cush. as Leslau asserts, while E. Cush. Saho *dabeela* 'billy goat' are rather borrowed from Eth.), N. Cush. Beja *debala* 'einjährige Kuh', E. Cush. Baiso *dabaalo* 'heifer' (cf. in Bla FB 243) vs. Afras. \***dab(Vy)-** 'young bull': Sem. Arb. *dabab-* 'veau qui vient de naître' (BK 1 662), Har. *däbāy* 'female calf, heifer' (LHar 53; otherwise <\**dabāl-* to be placed with the forms in -*l*), (?) Egyp. Med. *db* 'horn', N. Cush. Beja *dabi* 'stallion, male (of all kinds of domestic cattle) kept for breeding', E. Cush. Somali *dibi* 'calf, bull', Oromo (Wellega) *dibi-čča* 'young bull' (cf. Bla FB 242; counter to Blážek, nothing in common either semantically or phonetically with Cushitic and Omotic forms meaning 'lion' and Sem. and Egyp. forms meaning 'jackal, hyena', all < Afras. \***ȝV<sup>?</sup>Vb-** 'kind of predator', v. in SED II No. 72). <> W. Chad. Hausa *tákali* 'a variety of grasshopper' vs. Afras. \***tV<sup>w</sup>(-an)-** 'kind of insect' (in \***kʷVt(i)ān-** ~ \***tukʷān-** // \***ku(t)ān-** ~ \***tukān-** 'bug', SED II No. 122; v. in -**Vr** Animal names). <> E. Chad. Bidiya *ȝārākilo* vs. Dangla *ȝārko*, Migama *ȝārākú* 'grue couronnée' < Afras.? Cf. Sem.: Akk. *urniku* 'Kranich?', Arb. *yirnīk-*, *yurnūk-*, etc. 'grue' (v. in \***yVnīk-** 'crane' SED II 91). <> E. Chad. Kera *tókorlé* 'Rebhuhn' (Eb 125) vs. Dangla *tōokrō* 'oiseau (petit barbu)' (Fedry 168), Tumak *dɔkɔ̄rīya* 'oiseau sp.' (Capr 123; \**t*-> Tumak *d-*, according to Stolb 1996 30, 97) < Afras.: Sem. \***tVkur(r)-** 'kind of bird' (SED II 226; v. in **tV-** Animal names). <> E. Cush. Oromo *bučulā*, Alaba *bucčilla*, Darasa *buculla* 'puppy' (LGur 130; according to Leslau, "to be identified with *bučo* 'dog' with augmented -*l* to express the diminutive") vs. Oromo *buči* 'dog', Kambatta *buččo* 'interjection one uses to call a dog', Qabenna *bučbučča* 'puppy' (ibid.) <> (?) Afras. \***wařil-** 'k. of goat, gazelle': Sem. \***wařil-** 'ibex' (v. in -**Vn** Animal names), Brb. Ghadames *welli*, *wulli*, Ahaggar *ulli* 'chèvre', Qabyle *ulli* 'brebis', W. Chad. Jimi *walaroo* 'antelope', Geji *wulli* 'gazelle', E. Cush. Somali *ʕawl-* 'Soemmering's Gazelle', Rendille *ḥooł* 'gazelle' (both < \***ʕawVl-** with metathesis), Sidamo *wili'i-l-icco* 'young (of sheep, goat)' vs. Afras. \***wař-** 'goat': Egyp. OK *wř-ty* 'Ziege', W. Chad. Bokkos Daffa-Butura *wō?* 'Ziegenbock', C. Chad. Mbara *wähay* 'chèvre', N. Cush. Beja *weeyu* 'ibex' (v. in \***wařil-** 'ibex' SED II No. 244).

Anatomy:

[] Akk. *kişallu*, *kişillu*, *kisallu*, *kisillu* 'ankle bone' (<\**kişa/illu*) vs. *kimşu*, *kinşu*, *kişsu* 'knee, shin, calf of the leg' vs. **\*k(w)Vys-**, **\*k(w)Vss-** (cf. SED I No. 172 with a different interpretation): Arb. *kaşas-*, *kuşas-*, *kişas-* 'endroit du derrière de la tête où les cheveux finissent; endroit de la poitrine où les côtes se rencontrent', *kası̄s-* 'poitrine, os de la poitrine', *kass-*, *kuşas-* id., Gez. *kʷəy̥s*, *kʷəs* 'leg, shin, shinbone, thigh', Gye. *kətəyä* 'joint of foot', Soq. *míkṣeh* 'articulation, falangue', etc. [] Hbr.-Aram. **\*kVrsul-**: Hbr. *\*karsullayim* (dual) 'ankles', Jud. *ḳarsullā*, *ḳarsūlā* 'ankles', Syr. *ḳursəlā* 'talus; ala, axilla' (cf. also Soq. *kártʃlləh* 'mollet', a variant root) vs. Sem. **\*karsaw**: Tgr. *karso* 'ankle-bone (of men), fetlock (of animals)', Wol. *ənkərša*, Gog. Sod. *ənkərša* 'ankle', Mhr. *kərsät* 'kneecap' (otherwise <*\*kVrṣal*) in **\*kVrs/s(-ull)-** 'ankle' SED I No. 169. [] Syr. *pursälā* 'ungula (caprae)' (-š- instead of the expected -s-) vs. *parsətā* 'ungula (animalis); pes; solea', Jud. *prsh*, *prsth* (det.) 'hoof, split hoof', Mnd. *pras* (st. constr. only) 'palm (of hand)' <**\*pa/irs-** 'sole (of foot, hoof)' (SED I No. 220). [] Arb. *ḥiskilat-āni* 'les testicules' (dual) vs. Soq. *ḥošk* 'vulve' (v. in **\*ri/ušk-(at-)** 'testiculus', SED I No. 11). [] Arb. *damāl-* 'fumière' vs. *dimmat-* 'crottin, boule de fiente', *dimn-* 'crottin, fiente des bêtes' <**\*dVm(a)n-** 'dung' (SED I No. 53; v. in **-Vn** Anatomy). [] Arb. *žablat-*, *žublat-* 'bosse du chameau' vs. *žabab-* 'plaie faite par le bât à la bosse du chameau' <**\*gVb(V)b-, \*gVb(b)-an-** 'hump, hunch' (SED I No. 67; v. in **-Vr** Anatomy). [] Amh. *šəfāl*, Arg. *šəffāl* 'eyebrow' vs. Amh. *šəfašəft*, Tna *šifašəfti* 'eyebrow' <**\*šV(F)p-at-** '(tuft of) hair': Arb. *šaʔfat-* 'mèche de cheveux, tupet, cheveux', Hrs. *šafēt* 'hair', etc. (SED I No. 259). [] Sem. **\*šimə?l-** 'left hand (side)': Akk. *šumēlu*, Arb. *šimāl-*, Jib. *šəmlēt*, etc. (and metathetic Sab. *h-s₂?ml* 'to be northward (?)', Min. *s₂?ml-s₁* 'vers le nord'), likely < Afras.: Brb. **\*a-zəlmaq** 'left' (Ahaggar *ahelmaq* Fouc 595, Qabyle *azelmaq* Dal 944, etc.), supposedly < **\*a-zəlma?**-t <**\*-cilmə?**-t, metathetically related to Sem. **\*šimə?l-** vs. **\*šaʔm-** 'left': Arb. *šaʔmat-* 'côte gauche', Sab. *s₂?m* 'North', Min. *s₂?m* 'nord', Jib. *šiñ* 'gauche' (<*\*šimn* influenced, according to LS 64, by *iñ* 'droite'); v. in SED I No. 264. [] Sem. **\*š/sukl-** 'leg, thigh; elbow' (SED I No. 242): Arb. *sukl-* 'flancs, hypocondres', *sukl-*, *suklat-*, *saklat-* id., Tgr. *čənḳəlit* 'coude', Amh. *čəkəll*, Zw. *čikile* 'elbow', Soq. *sukal* 'pied' vs. **\*šák-** 'leg bones (thigh-, splint- and shinbone)' (SED I No. 241): Akk. *sīku* 'lap, thigh', Ugr. *šk* 'thigh', Hbr. *šōk* 'Schenkel, Wadenbein', Bib. *šākōhī* (du suff.) 'shin, leg', Jud. *šākā*, *šakkā*, *šōkā* 'joint, leg, foreleg', Syr. *šākā* 'femur, crus', Mnd. *šaka* 'limb, leg, shin', Arb. *sāk-* 'jambe, tibia', Tgr. *səkuka* 'forearm, lower part of the leg' < Afras. **\*sak-**: W. Chad: Bolewa Ngamo *šeke* 'leg' (CLR 220), Sha *səkaʃu* 'Bein, Fuss' (Jung R 288), C. Chad.: Muktele *šík*, Mafa *sák* 'leg' (CLR 221), Masa *sok* 'bone' (ibid. 37). [] Sem. **\*gVd(V)l-** 'limb' (SED I No. 73): Hbr. pB. *gūdāl*, *?ágūdāl* 'thumb, great toe' (otherwise <*gādal* 'to be high, large'), Arb. *žadl-*, *židl-* 'membre quelconque du corps; verge, penis; tendon (des mains ou des jambes); os entier, non facturé', Mhr. *gēdəl* (*gədəwwəl*, *həgdōl*), Hrs. *gēdel*, Jib. *gēdəl* 'foot' vs. **\*(?a-)g(w)ad-** '(part or bone of the) leg of animal' (SED I No. 71; v. in **?V**-Anatomy). [] Sem. **\*tpl** 'to spit' (SED I No. 73): Arb. *tfl*, Mhr. *təfūl*, Hrs. *tefōl*, Jib. *tfəl* (cf. also Hbr. *tāpēl* 'something unsalted, insipid, dull', *tpl* 'to utter stupidity, speak foolishly') vs. **\*tpp** 'to spit' (SED I No. 72): Hbr. *tōpät* 'spittle, expectoration', Jud. *təpap*, *təpē*, Arb. *ttf*, Gez. *taʃ'a*, Tgr. *täʃ'a*, Tna. *täʃ'e*, Amh. *täffa*, Arg. *täffa*, Har. *tufbāya*, Wol. *tufbalā*, Cha. *täfa*, etc., (?) Jib. *tfeʃ'* 'worthlessness in this world and perdition in the next'. [] Sem. **\*ka(w)hil~\*Vn-kulalih** 'egg' (SED I No. 170):

Tna. *?ənk<sup>w</sup>əlalih*, Amh. *ənk<sup>w</sup>əlal*, Mhr. *káwħəl*, etc. vs. Eth. \**?an-k<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>Vħ-*: Gez. *?ankok<sup>w</sup>əho*, Tgr. *?ənk<sup>w</sup>əħo*, Tna. *?ənk<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>əħo*, Har. *aķuħ*, etc. id. (SED I No. 160) < Afras.: (?) N. Cush. Beja *k<sup>w</sup>āhi* (RBed 137; < \**k<sup>w</sup>ah-* or \**k<sup>w</sup>ah-*), E. Cush. Oromo *hanqāqu/ō* (Gr 200; < \**ħankak<sup>w</sup>-* with metathesis?), S. Cush. Ma?a *ħoħoħa*, *ikokoha* (< \*-*kVħkVħ-*), Iraqw *qāħi* (HRSC 253). ◊ S. Omot. Dime *kəsil*, Ari *kasel* 'tooth', Ongota *káasala* 'molar' (Bla Omot No. 90.3; E. Cush. Tsamai *káasala* 'molar' is more likely a loan from S. Omot. than vice versa) vs. Afras.: Arb. *kss* 'avoir les dents petites et courtes', *kasas-* 'petitesse des dents' (BK 2 894; otherwise from, or contaminated with, *kss* 'casser, broyer en très-petits morceaux' ibid.), Brb. Semlal *á-kus* 'tooth', Zenaga *ūks-ən* 'teeth', N. Cush. Beja *kōs* 'tooth', S. Cush. Qwadza *koʔosi-ko* 'molar' (Bla Om No. 90.3). ◊> Cush. \**kV(n)tal-* 'sexual parts': N. Cush. Beja *kantāl* 'penis' (Bla Bed 61), S. Cush. Qwadza *kucalu* 'clitoris' (ibid. after Ehret; likely also C. Cush. Khamir *q<sup>w</sup>acel* 'scrotum' ibid., though -c- < \*-t- is difficult), probably < Afras. \**k<sup>w</sup>a(n)tal-*: W. Chad. Hausa *kwālātāi* 'testicles' (Abr Hs 539; metathesis < \**k<sup>w</sup>alat-?*), vs. Afras. \**kV(n)t/d-* 'sexual parts' (v. in **-Vr** Anatomy).

Varia:

[] Akk. *amšali* (also *šamšali*, likely by contamination with *šamš-* 'the sun') 'yesterday' OB, Mari, SB (CAD A<sub>2</sub> 79-; *l* in Akk. is usually explained by analogy with *timāli* 'yesterday' < Sem.: Hbr. *təmōl*, *?itmōl*, *?ätmūl*, etc., Syr. *?etmāli*, Gez. *təmāləm*, etc. 'yesterday' LGz 368, attested, however, in later texts, v. CAD A<sub>2</sub> 79) vs. *amšat* SB id. ("probably...a scribal error" ibid.), *mūšu* 'night' (ibid. M<sub>2</sub> 291), Hbr. *?ämäš* 'last night, yesterday', Arb. *masā?-* 'evening', *musy-*, *?amsi* 'yesterday', Gez. *məsyat* 'evening, twilight', Soq. *?imšin* 'evening', etc. (LGz 368) < Afras.: S. Cush. Iraqw *amsi?* 'wee hours of the night', Burunge Alagwa *amasi* 'night', Qwadza *amasi-ya* 'tomorrow' (HRSC 297; probably also N. Cush. Beja *amas* 'späte Abend, Nacht, Dunmkelheit, Finsterniss' RBed 19, unless < Arb). [] S. Eth. Amh. (*tä*)*g<sup>w</sup>abbälä*, Har. (*tä*)*gēbälä* 'to sit down', Wol. (*tä*)*gobälä*, Sel. (*tä*)*gōbälä* 'to sit (down), ride' (LGur 256) vs. Amh. *g<sup>w</sup>əbb alä*, Har. (*tä*)*gēba* 'to sit down', Zw. (*tä*)*gūbī* 'to sit down, ride' (ibid.; Leslau wonders whether Amh. *g<sup>w</sup>əbb alä* is in any connection with the Zw. form and regards Har. (*tä*)*gēba* an abbreviated form from (*tä*)*gēbälä* while the three forms quoted could hardly "lose" the Auslaut -*I* independently from each other) < Sem.? Cf. Arb. *žbw* 'se jeter la face contre terre, se prosterner' (BK 1 251). [] Sem. \**yarpal-* 'cloud, mist': Ugr. *yipl* 'nube, nubarrón' (DLU 160), Hbr. *?ärāpäl* 'thick darkness' (HAL 888), Jud. *?arpillā* 'cloud, spray, mist' (Ja 1123), Syr. *?arpellā* 'vapor, nubes' (Brock 549), etc. vs. Sem. \**?yVip-* 'cloud, rain': Akk. *erpetu* 'cloud' (CAD E 302), Ugr. *?ipt* 'nube' (DLU 90), Hbr. *?ip* 'to drip' (HAL 887), Arb. *yarrāf-* 'abondant, copieux (se dit d'un torrent de pluie)', cf. *yurfat-* 'ciel, septième ciel' (BK 2 458-9). [] Sem. \**gVdVI-* '(to be) big': Ugr. *ndl* 'ancho, amplio; bien crecido, grande (?)' (DLU 144), Hbr. *ndl* 'to grow (up), become strong, be great' (HAL 179), Arb. *ždl* 'grandir, grossir' (BK 1 265), etc. < Afras.? Cf. C. Chad. \**digal-* (met.?): Kilba *dīgōlu* (Kr II 95), Wamdui *digalu* (ibid. 115), Margi *digal* (ibid. 124) 'large' vs. Afras. \**gVd(d)-* (v. above in **-Vr** Varia). ◊> Afras. \*(*?a-*)*dang<sup>w</sup>al-* 'corn; beans': Sem. Tgr. *?ädängäl* 'bean(s)' (LH 384; < C. Cush. Bilin? Cf., however, Tgr. *?ädäggälä*, *däggälä* poet., Tna. *däggälä* 'a sort of corn growing wild; *Eleusine aegyptiaca*' LH 385; cf. also Har. *dāngullé* 'pea' LH 1963 57 < Oromo), Gez. *dəlg<sup>w</sup>əmmā* 'porridge', Amh. *dālg<sup>w</sup>äm* 'a variety of sorghum' (LGz 131; ◊> \**dalg<sup>w</sup>-am-* with metathesis), W. Chad. Karekare *dəgwəlō* 'gruel' (Kr I 62), C. Chad. Mada *édīŋgel* 'tige de mil (dont on a coupé l'épi)' (BB 93), E. Chad. Migama

*dágalaáwé* 'noix de palmeir doum' (Jung Mig 76; metathetic *<\*dagwal-*), C. Cush. Bilin *adäng<sup>wal</sup>* 'Bohne' (RBil 15), E. Cush. Oromo *dāngulle* 'bean' (LGur 17) vs. Afras. \*da/ing<sup>w</sup>- 'kind of beans; corn' (v. above in -**Vr** Varia). <> Afras. \*gambVI- 'black': E. Chad. Mokilko *gāmmilí*, *gāmbilí* (Jung Mkk 99), E. Cush. Bayso *ka-gamballi* (Hay Bai 120) vs. E. Cush. \*gumb- id.: Gawnwata *kummay* (AMS 266), Tsamai *gumma* (SLLE 4), Yaaku *-kumpu?* (Hei Ya 121).

## -Vb

Animal names:

[] Jud. *farṣubyā* 'a species of locusts' vs. \***V̥is-** 'kind of insect': Arb. *ṣird-* 'nuée de sauterelles', Tgr. *farṣat*, *farṣatit* 'termites' (SED II No. 38). [] Jud. *karzəbā*, *karzubba* 'a species of locusts' vs. *kərāzā* 'name of two species of winged locusts', Gez. *kʷarāzi* 'ant' (<**\*kʷaraz-** // **\*karaz-** 'kind of insect' SED II No. 119). [] Jud. *ṭakṣəbōnītā* 'name of a disease, prob. wound from a spider's bite' (cf. also Hbr. *ṭakšūb* 'horned viper (or adder)' and Dem. *ṭkšb* 'viper') vs. Arb. *ṭukkāš-* 'araignée; toile d'araignée' (v. in SED II No. 33). [] Tgr. *sosānab* 'a kind of ants whose bite is very painful' (LH 180; less likely <*\*sos* + *\*nab*) vs. Tgr. *šašənte* 'ants' (ibid. 214), Tna. *šišo* 'ant or termite colony; large black ant which can give a painful bite' (K Tna 831), v. in \***sāūs-** 'moth' (SED II 198). [] Tna. *kʷərṣob*, *kʷärṣob* (and *ṭənkʷərṣob*, *ṭənəkʷərṣob*) vs. *kʷərṣo*, *kur-ṣo*, *kʷärṣo* in \***kV̥r(V)r-** 'frog' (SED II No. 137; v. in **?V-** Animal names). [] Sem. \***taʃlab-** 'fox': Akk. *šelevu*, Arb. *taʃlab-* (pl. *taʃāli<sup>t</sup>*), very likely < Afras. \*čV̥lVb-: C. Chad. Musgu *čičelebe* 'jackal', E. Chad. Mokilko *sullibè* 'kind of wolf' vs. Sem. \***tV̥l-** 'fox': Hbr. *šūnāl*, Syr. *taʃlā*, Arb. *tuʃāl-*, Mhr. *yətāyl*, etc. (SED II No. 237). [] Sem. \***ṭankab(it)-** 'spider': Hbr. *ṭakkābīš*, Jud. *ṭakkōbītā* vs. Arb. *ṭankab-*, Jib. *ṭənšyēt* (pl. *ṭonókub*) id. vs. Eth. \**ṭa(n)k-*: Tgr. *ṭako* 'spider', Tna. *ṭəkkʷāt*, *ṭəkkot* 'a kind of very poisonous wasp', Gez. *ṭakot* (*ṭakot*) 'small locust, dog-fly, wasp', Amh. *anko* 'young locust' (SED II No. 33). [] Sem. \***gʷa(n)dab** // \***ga(n)dab-** 'cricket, locust': Arb. *žandab-*, *žundub-* 'espèce de sauterelle', Tna. *gʷädäbä* 'a kind of harmless grasshopper' vs. Arb. *žudžud-* 'espèce de grillon de nuit', Tgr. *gədgəd* 'a species of small beetle', Arb. *žanda-*, *žundu-* 'espèce de sauterelle noire, à deux antennes; en gén. insectes qu'on rencontre en creusant la terre', Amh. *gʷande* 'very small red ant which eats grain', Wol. Gog. *gʷändä*, etc. 'kind of ant', Gez. *gundan* 'spider', Amh. *gʷəndan* 'a kind of black ant which inflicts a painful bite' (<*\*gudgud-*, *\*ganda-* and *\*gundan-* to be eventually reduced to a common protoform \**gV(n)d-* with different extensions; v. SED II No. 80). [] Sem. \***yarib-** ~ \***yurāb-** 'crow, raven': Hbr. *ṭōrēb*, Arb. *yurāb-*, Jib. *ṭayərēb*, etc. (perhaps < Afras.: E. Cush. Burji *gurruba*, Dullay \**k/kurrub-* 'crow') vs. Afras. \**yʷar-* 'raven, crow': Brb. Ayr E. Tawllemmet *a-yrut* 'corbeau', W. Chad. Sura *gooroo*, E. Chad. Ndam *ṭagrā* 'crow', S. Cush. Iraqw *ḥwa?ari*, Burunge *ḥwanħwarariya*, Alagwa *ḥohora?i*, Ma?a *ihuré?i*, *ihure?i* 'crow' (SED II No. 89). [] Sem. \***kalb-** 'dog': Akk. *kalbu*, Hbr. *käläb*, Arb. *kalb-*, etc. vs. Afras. \**kʷVI-* 'wolf, dog': Brb. Ayr *ă-külen* 'loup, loup peint (lycaon)', C. Chad. Gudu *küləm* 'hyena', Bura-Pela *kila*, Logone *kə'lè*, Buduma *keli* 'dog', E. Chad. Dangla *kulkò* 'cynhyène', Cush. \**ta-kʷVI-* 'wolf': N. Cush. Beja *tákʷla*, C. Cush. Bilin *tägʷla*, *təyʷla*, Qwara *tahʷəla*, Kemant *takwila*, E. Cush. Saho *takla*, *taħla*, etc. (SED II No. 115). [] Sem. \***ṛa/ribay-** 'locust': Akk. *arabū*, Hbr. *ṭarbā*, Soq. *ṭerbhiyoh*, etc. (< Afras.? Cf. C. Chad. Mbara *ṭarbatētō* 'cricket' SED II No. 11) vs. S. Cush. \**?uurú* 'locust (sp.)':

Alagwa *?uurú*, Burunge *?uuri* (KM 310), (?) Ma?a *i?e* 'locust' (compared with Burunge *uri* 'grasshopper' in HRSC 295). <> S. Cush. Dahalo *dánnaba* 'female elephant' (EEN 28), *dánnabe* (Tos Dah 132) 'elephant' <\**žannab-* vs. Afras. \**ža(Hw)n-* id.: E. Cush. Sidamo *dāni-ččo*, Hadiya *dānē-ččo*, Qabenna *zānō*, Kambatta *zānō*, etc. (LSid 400), C. Cush. Bilin *žānā*, Khamir *zohón*, etc. (Bla Eleph 199), W. Chad. Ngizim *žaunák*, C. Chad. Tera *žuwān* (CLR 124), Fali-Jilvu *žu?wūni*, E. Chad. Nanchere *žena?*, Kabalai *žuno*, etc. (Bla Eleph 200). <> N. Omot. Sheko *goržube* 'lizard' (cf. also E. Chad. Dangla *gírzibó* 'varan') vs. *góřu* 'gecko' (v. in SED II 182).

#### Anatomy:

[] Afras. \**garab-* 'stomach, belly': Sem. Arb. *žuržub-*, *žuržubān-* 'ventre', Sab. *grb*, Tgr. *gärob* 'body', W. Chad. Miya *garabu* 'chest', E. Chad. Tumak *būroōg* 'stomach' (met.), C. Chad. Mandara *brogue* 'intestines' (met.), E. Cush. Saho Afar *garbá* 'Bauch, Magen, Eingeweide, Herz', Oromo *gäräba* 'big stomach of ruminants', N. Omot. Janjero *garba* 'belly' (Bnd Om 159), etc. (v. in \***gVrVb**- SED II No. 90) vs. Afras. \**gVra?-* 'stomach, belly': Arb. *žirri?at-*, *žirriyyat-* 'gésier (chez certains oiseaux), estomac (d'oiseau)' (BK 1 272), Brb. Siwa *žar* 'ventre' (Lao 309), E. Chad. Migama *gur-múdú* 'estomag' (Jung Mig 89), C. Chad. Gudu *gurā-cu* 'heart' (Kr III 76), N. Cush. Beja *gari* 'body, trunk' (Roper 186), C. Cush. Bilin *gir*, *žir*, Qwara *žir* 'Darm, Eingeweide' (RBil 158), E. Cush. Oromo *garaa* 'stomach, heart, mind' (Gr 167), Arbore *geré?* 'belly, abdomen' (Hay Arb 360), Dasenech *geer-e* 'stomach, belly, womb, interior' (Tos Das 499), S. Cush. Iraqw Gorowa *gura?*, Alagwa Burunge *gura?a* 'belly' (KM 122). [] Sem. \**kʷirb-at-* 'skin, leather bag': Arb. *kirbat-* 'grande outre à lait ou à eau faite d'une seule peau' (BK 2 704), Gez. *kʷərbābit* 'leather bag' (LGz 440), Tna. *korbät* 'skin, hide, bark, rind, peel' (K Tna 941), Amh. *korbät* 'peau, cuir' (Baet 379), probably < Afras. \**kʷi/arab-* 'bark, skin': N. Omot. Male *kurubi* 'bark' (Dolg 1973 67) and perhaps E. Chad. forms (v. in the following entry) vs. Afras. \**kʷar-* 'bark, shell': W. Chad. Hausa *kwáryà* 'shell of a tortoise' (Barg 692), N. Omot. Oyda *kuuro*, Basketo *kura*, Male *kuru* (Bnd Om 54), Shinasha *kookíra* (ibid. 158) 'bark'. <> Cush. \**kurb-* 'skin, bark': N. Cush. Beja *kúrbe* 'Haut' (RBed 145), C. Cush. Khamta *kerbir* 'bark' (Dolg 1973 67), Qwara *kōrbē* 'Haut, Leder' (RQua 86) < Afras. if E. Chad. forms (Kwan *kābárōw*, Sumrai *kābərāw* 'bark' CLR 9) are metathetic <*kVrbVw-* (otherwise <*kVrbaw-*, related to the previous entry) vs. Afras. \**kur-* (note variant roots with *h* in Sayanchi, Yaaku and S. Cush., hardly a chance coincidence) id.: W. Chad. Pa?a *kurri*, Kiir *kwār*, Buli *kuur* 'skin' (CLR 296), Geji *kūr*, Barawa *kūru*, *kwor*, Sayanchi *kurahi* 'bark' (?), E. Chad. Dangla *kōr-ke* (?), Birgit *kuróro* 'egg-shell' (?), E. Cush. Yaaku *hreke* 'skin' (Hei Ya 133), S. Cush. Iraqw *kaahari* 'skin', Alagwa *kaari*, *kahari* 'skin, hide', Burunge *kaariya* 'sheep's hide' (KM 169-70; in spite of Gorowa *kaahari* 'dried cow hide', hardly <*\*kahar* 'dry' <*\*kah* 'to be dry' ibid. 169, as the meaning 'dried' about hide is not confirmed by other languages except Gorowa where this meaning is likely due to contamination with *kaahaar* 'dry'). <> Afras. \**gʷažab-* 'stomach, internal organ': Sem. Arb. *židāb-* 'moelle du palmier' (BK 1 268, metathetic with a meaning shift?), W. Chad. Hausa *gážébā* (also *gidibi*) 'kidneys' (Barg 347), (?) C. Chad. Gidar *gədəf* 'belly' (CLR 21; \*-b devoiced into -f in Auslaut?), E. Cush. Hadiya *góðabo*, Sidamo *godobá*, Kambatta *gʷodeeba*, etc. 'belly' (HEC 26) vs. Afras. \**gʷaž-* 'stomach, intestines': Brb. \*-*gazaw-* (Ghat *te-žahu-t* 'estomag, ventre', Ahaggar *tā-gəhu-t* 'panse, intérieur

du ventre', E. Tawllemmet *te-găzăw-t* panse des ruminants' DRB 927), W. Chad. Hausa *gužiyā* 'an internal organ in a bird' (Barg 405), E. Chad. Ndam *gūž*, Kera *giidə* 'belly' (CLR 21), C. Cush. \**gʷaz(gʷaz)*- 'stomach' (Bilin *gʷädəgʷ*, Khamir *gəzu*, Kemant *gʷäzgʷə*, Aungi *gʷəzəg* (Appl IC 46), E. Cush. Afar *gūdē* 'Mitte, Inneres, Bauch, Leib' (RAf 848). ◊> Cushomot. \**ɣ/ɣi(n)ab-* ~ \**ɣ/ɣi(n)rab-* 'tongue' (note -*b* in pl. Dasenech and Yaaku which is hardly a chance coincidence): E. Cush. Saho *anráb*, Afar *arrabá* (RSa 40), Dasenech pl. *ɣerb-u* (Tos Das 480), Somali *ʕárrab*, Rendille *ħarrab*, Boni *arub*, Oromo *arraba*, Elmolo *ɣerrəb*, Sidamo Darasa *arraba*, Hadiya *allaabo*, Burji *arraba*, Grawata *arrap-ko*, Yaaku pl. *ɛrepa* (PEC 23), N. Omot. Dizi *ɣerib* (Bnd Om 218) 'tongue' vs. Afras. \**ɣ/ɣi(n)ay-* or ~ \**ɣ/ɣV(r)n-* id.: W. Chad. (?) Hausa *yáré* 'any language which one does not understand' (Barg 1109), C. Chad. Higi-Nkafa *ane*, Mofu *ɣərné*, Gisiga *ɣirne*, Mandara *aara*, *nára* (met.) 'tongue' (CLR 328-9), E. Cush. Somali *eray* 'word' (Abr Som 74), Dasenech *ɣére* (Tos Das 481), Yaaku *ere* (PEC 480), S. Cush. Dahalo *ɣééna* (EEN 13), N. Omot. Malo *ɣirin-c* (Bnd Om 25), Doko *eren-çā* (ibid. 63), Anfillo *erii-co*, *ɣere-čō* (ibid. 176), Koyra -*ɣe/or-* (ibdi. 96), etc. 'tongue'. ◊> C. Cush. Bilin *girib*, Khamir Qwara Aungi *girb* 'Knie und Ellbogen' (RKham 361), E. Cush. Rendille *garab* 'shoulder' (PG 387; < Cushomotic? Cf. N. Omot. Shinasha *gubrā* id. Lmb Sh 306, with metathesis?) vs. C. Cush. Khamir *guyúr*, Waag *gerím* (?) id. <Afras. \*(*ɣi-n*)*gur(gur)*- 'knee, foot': Sem. \**ɣi(n)gi/ur-* 'foot' (Syr. Arb. *ɣiżər*, Dat. Arb. *ɣiżr*, Gez. *ɣəgr*, Har. *igir*, *ingir*, etc. SED II No. 7), W. Chad. Warji *ŋgarái*, C. Chad. Zime-Dari *gore*, E. Chad. Lele *garma* 'foot' (CLR 220-21), Kera *gəgər* 'knee' (ibid. 215), S. Cush Iraqw *gurungura*, Gorowa *gurungura?*, Alagwa *gurunguda*, Burunge *guruguunda* (KM 122-3), N. Omot. Mocha *gurāto*, She *gurət* 'knee' (Bnd Om 168). ◊> Afras. \**gʷil(V)b-* 'knee': E. Chad. Sokoro *bóglolō* 'ankle' (Luk ZS 45; met.), C. Cush. Dembea *gǔlbē* (RBil 159; or <*\*girb-*? See previous entry), E. Cush. Saho Afar *gǔlüb*, Somali *ʒilib*, Oromo *ʒilba* (ibid.), Konso *hilpa*, *kilpa*, Bayso *gilib*, Burji *gilba*, Hadiya *gurubbo* (<*\*gulubb-*), Sidamo *gulube*, Grawata *kilpay-(ho)*, Tsamai *gilib-ko* (PEC 18), Dahalo (pl.) *gillibe* (Tos Dah 134), N. Omot. Wolamo *gulba-ta*, Kullo Gofa Gamu Zergulla *gulbata* (Bnd Om 19; according to Bender, all Omot. forms are from Amh. *gulbət*, which is unlikely in view of their widest attestation in Cush. and Omot. and lack of Sem. etymology for the Amh. term, evidently borrowed from Cush.), Kafa *gilbətə* (ibid. 58), S. Omot. Ari *gulbē* (ibid. 212), Ongota *gibila*, *giliba* (Fl Ong 51) vs. Afras. \**gʷil-* 'knee': W. Chad. Hausa *gwí-wá*, pl. *gwíyá* 'knee' (Abr Hs 355; most likely <*\*gʷil-*), C. Chad. Mofu *gəlaw* 'hanche' (Bar 118), E. Cush. Dasenech *gíl* 'hand' (Tos Das 500), S. Cush. Qwadza *guhulu-ko* 'ankle', Asa *guluet*, Dahalo *gilli* 'knee' (Tos Dah 134). ◊> S. Omot. Hamar *tərobó*, *tərbə* 'liver' (Bnd Om 213; the labial consonant is treated by Bender as a suffix which needs proof) vs. Ari *tíri* (according to Bender, "a universal loan < Oromo *tiruu*", which is questionable in view of a wide spread of the corresponding forms in Omot.), N. Omot. Malo Gerese *tire*, Dorze *tire*, Kullo *tiriya*, etc. 'liver' (ibid. 20; cf. Malo *tira*, Kullo Dorze *tira* etc. 'chest' ibid. 13) < Afras. \**tirw-* 'liver': W. Chad. Polchi *wáterə?* 'liver' (met.), C. Chad. Mada *totrom* 'reins' (BB 254), E. Cush. Saho *tiraw*, Afar *tiroo*, Somali *traw*, Oromo *tiru*, Konso *tírá*, Hadiya *tiroo*, Grawata *tire*, etc. 'liver' (Dolg 1973 203), S. Cush. Ma?a *tirao* 'liver' (HRSC 387).

Varia:

[] Soq. *dūṣob* 'mordre' (LS 363) vs. Arb. *dyydy* 'mâcher, broyer avec les mâchoires' (BK 2 29), *dym* 'mordre, saisir avec la bouche' (ibid.), *dyt* 'mâcher, broyer légerement avec les dents' (ibid. 28). [] Eth. \**gʷdb* 'to cut' (LGz 181; otherwise to be treated as a variant root of \**gdm*, v. *ibid.*): Gez. *gʷadaba* 'to cut with an axe, dig a ditch', *gʷedb*, Tgr. *gədəb* 'axe', Tna *gädäbä* 'to cut', Amh. *gʷaddäbä* 'to dig, cut' vs. Sem. \**gdd* 'to cut' (v. in LGz 180): Akk. *gadādu* (lex.) 'to chop' (CAD G 8), Hbr. pB. *gdd* (hitpo.) 'to make incisions upon oneself' (HAL 177), Syr. *gad* 'abscidit, amputavit' (Brock 103), Arb. *ždd* 'couper' (BK 1 259), Gez. *gəddu* 'piece of wood cut with an axe or with a saw', Tgr. *gädda* 'to tear off', etc. (LGz 180). [] Sem. \**krb* 'to plait, braid, tie up': Arb. *krb* 'tordre, tresser (une corde)' (BK 2 880), Gez. *karabo* 'woven basket; pouch', Tgr. *kärba* 'to tie up', Amh. *käräbo* 'basket' (LGz 290) vs. \**krr/y* id.: Hbr. *kry* 'to bind together' (HAL 497; Arb. *kwr* 'to wind a turban' compared *ibid.* is rather from Afras. \**kwr* 'to be round'), Arb. *karr-* 'corde tressée de feuilles ou de fibres de palmier' (BK 2 879), Tna. *kärräärä* 'to be twisted (thread), to be made (rope) by twisting' (K Tna 1591). <> Afras. \**darb-/\*bVrid-*: Sem. Jud. *darbān* 'Pforte, weiter Eingang' (Dolg 1973 50 after Levy), Syr. *darb-* 'via' (Brock 165: "ex Arb. *darb-*"), Arb. *darb-* 'porte; défilé, rue, chemin', Anc. Yemen 'muraille', Dat. *darraba* 'entourer d'un mur' (DRS 307), Mhr. *darb* 'village street; yard' (JM 73), Jib. *dərb* 'village street; unroofed enclosure, yard' (JJ 40; both MSA forms look as Arabisms, note, however, partial differences in meaning), Brb. Ayr *abarid*, Ghadames Qabyle *abrid*, etc. 'chemin, route' (DRB 100), N. Cush. Beja *derēb*, C. Cush. Bilin *därəb*, pl. *därfif* 'way, road', E. Cush. Saho *darib* 'way, trace' (Dolg 1973 50; according to Dolgopolsky, all < Cush. \**dVrVP-*; the three forms, however, look as Arabisms), Oromo *darabaa* 'place for keeping cows in common; place where common activity is done' (Gr 99; semantic evolution of the borrowed Arb. 'street'??) vs. Afras. \**dar-*: Sem. Arb. *darar-* 'trace; ligne d'une route, surtout droite; côté (d'une maison qui nous fait face)' (BK 1 682), Mhr. *šədēri* 'to go by a good route' (< Arb.?), *šə-drō*, Jib. *šə-dré* 'to get to the top' (JM 74), W. Chad. Jimbin *dāru*, Mburku *dēri*, Miya *darhi*, Kariya *derahi* 'road, path, way' (Sk NB 37), Gerka *der* (Fitz 219), Karekare *n-dārū* (Luk Kr 200) 'road', Buli *dērāū* 'to go' (CLR 162) E. Cush. Yaaku *daar* 'road' (Hei Ya 132).

## -V̄k

Animal names:

<> W. Chad. Ngizim *žaunak* 'elephant' (CLR 124) vs. Afras. \**ža(Hw)n-* id. (v. in -V̄b Animal names). <> E. Cush. Saho Afar *lubák* 'lion' vs. Sem. \**labV̄?-* 'lion(ess)': Akk. *labbu* (*lab?u*, etc.) 'lion', Arb. *labu?at-*, *labwat-* 'lionne', etc. (SED II No. 144).

Anatomy:

[] Sem. \**bi/ark-* 'knee': Akk. *birku*, Hbr. *bäräk*, etc. (SED I No. 39; < Afras.? Cf. W. Chad. Mburku *vérka cəma* 'foot' (CLR 220; *vérka* < \**bVrk-*? Cf. Siri *cūma* 'leg' *ibid.*), C. Chad. Mofu *pápərakw* 'patte' (Bar 219), Gisiga *poporok* 'knee' (CLR 215; < \**babarak?*), E. Cush. Yaaku *loipurukuçi* (Hei Ya 128; composed of *loi-porokuçi* < \**-porokuki* < \**borok-?*) vs. \*(*?i*)-**bar-(at-)** '(bone of) leg, thigh, arm' (cf. SED I No. 3; v. in ?V̄-Anatomy) < Afras. \**bar(bar)-* '(bone of) leg, thigh, knee': W. Chad. Ngamo *buru* (Meek 37), Dera *bó-bərəm*, Karekare *bərəsù* (CLR 214),

Galambu *bubur* (Sch BT 82), C. Chad. Bachama *mbwārā* 'leg' (CLR 221), Garwa *baare* 'shin' (Bla SED 499), Paduko *bēma* 'knee' (CLR 215), Gude *buura* 'elbow' (Hos 164), Zime-Batna *būru* 'marcher sur les jenoux' (Cooper 3), E. Chad. Mokilko *?obbirā* 's'agenouiller' (Jung Mkk 151), E. Cush.: Rendille *bárbar* 'shoulder' (PG 387), N. Omot. Kafa *borborō* 'coscia' (Cer Caf 415), S. Omot. Ubamer *barr* 'thigh' (Bla SED 499). [] Sem. **\*warik(-at)-** 'hip(-bone)': Hbr. *yārēk*, Arb. *wark-*, *wirk-*, etc. (SED I No. 288) vs. Afras. **\*war-** 'thigh(-bone), leg': Arb. *warr-* 'os de la hanche' (BK 2 1516), Egyp. MK *wṛt* 'Bein' (EG I 287), W. Chad. Mburku *wīrin*, Miya Kariya *wurum* 'knee' (Sk NB 28; unless <*\*bVr-*, v. above), C. Chad. Musgu *werē* 'Knie' (Luk Msg 81), S. Cush. Iraqw *uryee* 'backside of upper side of leg, thigh' (MQK 113), Burunge *?uuriyoo* 'hips', etc. (KM 310). <> W. Chad. Chip *fēlōk* 'liver' (Kr I 39), Sura *fēlōk* (Jung Sura 213), Mupun *fōlōk*, *fūlfuk* (Fr Mup 87) 'lungs' vs. Ankwe *fēlō* 'liver' (Kr I 51) *fīlīl* 'lungs' (ibid.), C. Chad. Bachama *fāfulawey* 'lungs' (Kr III 66) <*Afras.* (*?/q-a-*)*fal-* 'liver, lungs, stomach': Sem. Soq. *?efelōti* (dual) 'estomac' (LS 319), E. Cush. Sidamo *affale*, Burji *affala*, Kambatta *afali-ta*, Hadiya *afāre* (<*\*Hafal-*) 'liver' (HEC 93). <> W. Chad. **\*ti/uk-** 'belly': Hausa *čīkī* <*\*tik-*, Kiir *tūk*, Geji *tūki*, Tule *tukō* (CLR 20) vs. Chad. **\*tu/a-** id.: Daffa-Butura *tūh* (unless <*\*tuk-*), pl. *tūtuwai*, Wangdai Zaar *tuu*, C. Chad. Kilba *ta* 'belly' (ibid.). <> Chad. **\*bVk-** 'mouth': W. Chad. Hausa *bākī*, Dera *bwōōk*, E. Chad. Dangla *bīykīko* (CLR 244-5) vs. **\*biw/y-** id.: Dera *bwō*, Karekare *bōō*, Jimi *bi*, Tule *bīyī*, etc., E. Chad. Sumrai *bi*, Migama *bī*, Jegu *bētō*, C. Chad. Nzangi *bōā* (ibid.). <> C. Cush. Bilin *lābākā*, Dembea Qwara *lābākā* 'Herz' (RBil 251) vs. Afras. **\*IVb-** 'heart' (v. in Bla SED 503-4) where all the comparisons are convincing except Brb. *\*luHi*, which, together with S. Omot. Hamar *wōyləm* and probably Ongota *lē̄eta* 'heart' go back to Afras. **\*wVli(m)-**: Sem. Akk. *libbu*, Arb. *lubb-*, etc. (SED II No. 174), Egyp. Pyr. *ib* (EG I 59), N. Cush. Beja *lew* 'pylorus' (Roper 213), E. Cush. (perhaps < Eth.) Afar *lubbi* (PH 156), Oromo *lubuu* 'soul, spirit' (Gr 267), etc. <> C. Cush. Bilin *nabakā* 'Mitte' (RBil 280) vs. Qwara *nabeow* 'middle (adj.)', *nabea* 'centre' (RQua 104; according to Reinisch, < *näbē* 'spalten' which seems to me less probable), Dembea *nabēā* 'middle (adj.)' (ibid.), likely < Afras. **\*nVb-** 'heart' (a variant root of **\*IVb-?**): C. Chad. Daba *nūv* 'heart' (Kr III 156; cf. *libi* 'stomach' ibid.), N. Omot. Shinasha *nibbā*, Sheko Kafa *nibbo*, Janjero *niba* 'Herz' (Lmb Sh 367). <> N. Omot. **\*?ačk-** 'meat' (Bender separates -*k* as if it were a productive suffix which needs proof): Male *aski* (Bnd Om 59), Dizi *ačku*, *ašku* (ibid. 213), Mao (Sezo) *oške* (ibid. 276) vs. **\*?ač-** id.: Gofa *ašo*, Chara *ačča*, Koyra *?aččo*, Gimirra *ač*, Mao (Sezo) *ossi*, *?os* (ibid. 20, 59, 90, 169, 276), S. Omot. Ongota *čata* (<*\*ča-t-?*) 'meat' < Afras. **\*ča?w-~\*?ačw-** 'small cattle; meat' (v. **\*ta?(w/y)-at-** 'ewe' SED II No. 236): Sem. **\*ta?(w/y)-at-** 'ewe' (Ugr. *t?at*, Arb. *ta?wat-*, etc.), W. Chad. Kirfi *wiiči* 'sheep', E. Chad. Kwang *čuwī* 'goat', E. Cush. Somali *so?*, Oromo *foo-ni* (Oromo *f-* implies *\*č-*), Bussa *so?-o*, Dasenech *so*, Gidole *so?-ha* 'meat' (PEC 50). <> Afras. **\*hark-** 'limb, arm': Sem. Arb. *harkakat-* 'haut de la hanche' (BK 1 413; cf. Jib. *harkūn* 'lame, broken-legged' JJ 115), W. Chad. Dera *ārēk* 'hand' (CLR 178), N. Cush. Beja *hárka*, *hérka* 'Arm, Oberarm, Schulter, Achsel' (RBeđ 126), E. Cush. Oromo *harka* 'hand' (Gr 202), Konso *harka* id. (Black 297), Gawayata *harkó*, Tsamai *harko* 'hand' (SLLE 7), S. Cush. Ma?a *iharega* 'arm' (HRSC 387) vs. Afras. **\*har-** 'arm, hand': C. Chad. **\*Har-** 'arm, hand': Tera *ħar*, Ngweshe *ħára*, Mofu *ħár* 'hand' (CLR 178-9), etc., E. Cush. Saho *ħará* 'Hand, Arm' (RSa 190), Oromo

*hirree, irree* 'arm' (Gr 227), N. Omot. Anfillo *hiro* 'fathom' (?).

Varia:

[] End. *masakkä* 'night' (LGur 427: "one recognizes the element *massa* for 'evening, night' but the ending *-kkä* is enigmatic") vs. Cha. Gye. *mäšä*, Eža *mäšä*, etc. 'to be evening' < Sem. \*(?a-)mVš- 'evening, night' v. in -**Vr** Varia). [] Sem. Hbr. *däräk*, Pho. *drk* 'way, road' (HAL 231), Mnd. *dirka* id. (DM 109), etc. vs. Afras. \*dVr- 'road' (v. in -*Vb* Varia). <> Brb. Siwa *t-fük-t*, Senhaja *ta-fuk-t*, Ahaggar *tä-fuk*, Zenaga *tu-fuk-t* 'soleil' (DRB 547-8) vs. Ghadames *t-üföt-t* 'soleil, éclat du soleil, lumière solaire' (Lan 86), Ahaggar *tä-ffaw-t* 'clarté crépusculaire', *ufu*, *ifaw* 'commencer à faire clair (jour) pour', Ayr *ifu* 'faire jour pour', Iznaşen *t-faw-t* 'lumière (d'une lampe, du soleil)', etc. (DRB 675-7) < Afras. \*yafaw- 'sunlight': W. Chad. Warji *fei*, Kariya *áfai*, Ngizim *afa*, E. Chad. Sokoro *píyo*, *fíyo*, etc. 'sun' (CLR 312-3), E. Cush. Saho *ifo*, Somali *if*, Oromo *ifá* 'light' (Dolg 1973 232). <> Afras. \*pVrVk- 'bark, shell': (?) Sem. Arb. *farik-* 'qui a l'écorce cassée', *frk* 'écraser quelque chose entre deux doigts' (BK 2 586), Brb. Ahaggar *tä-förk-it* 'morceau d'écorce d'arbre sèche', Ntifa *ti-ferk-it* 'écorce d'un arbre; peau d'un animal', Zenage **SIC** *ta-ferki* 'écorce', etc. (DRB 626), E. Chad. Kera *féktré* (met.) 'hard shell (of a nut)', Mokilko *pákır-te*, Sokoro *furkía* 'bark' (CLR 9) vs. Sem. \***par(t/w)**- 'skin, shell, husk' (SED I No. 217) < Afras. \*pVr- 'bark, shell': Brb. Ghadames *ti-fra*, Sened *ti-fre-t* 'écorce' (DRB 607), W. Chad. Hausa *fuúruú*, *huúruú* 'skin of monkey nuts' (Barg 331, 470), Tangale *paara* 'skin or pod of the fruit of the locust tree' (Jung T 128), Diri *fufür* 'bark' (CLR 8), E. Chad. Bidiya *pir* 'décortiquer l'arachide' (AJ 108).

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**Instances of *r* in various positions in Semitic (and Afrasian?) roots presumably conveying a meaning of a "larger dimension/quantity":**

1. A Semitic or Semito-Chadic triradical root with *-r* as a third radical denoting a larger insect ('bee/wasp' or 'bee/wasp, locust') vs. Arb., Chad. and Omot. forms based on a biradical root without \*-*r* denoting a smaller insect ('small locust/ant, termite, fly'):

Sem. \***di/ab(b)ür** 'bee, wasp': Hbr. *dəbōrā* '(wild) honey-bee', Arb. *dabbür-* 'bourdon, grosse mouche, frelon; reine-abeille', Amh. *dib<sup>w</sup>ara* (in *dib<sup>w</sup>ara zəmb*) 'a yellow fly which afflicts cattle', etc., probably < Afras.: W. Chad. Ngamo *ndəbūrō* 'locust', C. Chad. Gude *dəvūrəjá* 'sausage fly', (?) Fali-Bwagira *dəvūr-ŋən* 'termite; anthill' vs. Afras. \*dVb- 'ant, (flying) termite, fly': Sem. Arb. *daba<sup>n</sup>* 'petites sauterelles; petites fourmis', W. Chad. Dera *díbín*, *díwín* 'fly', Jimbin *duba*, C. Chad. Lame *dab*, *dəbai*, E. Chad. Mokilko *díbé* 'termite', Migama *díibídíibi* 'termite ailé (grand, rouge)', Kera *ádəbdəbə* 'Tsetsefliege', N. Omot. Hozo *dabbi* 'termite' (SED II No. 66).

2. A Semitic (MSA) or Semito-Berber triradical root with *-r* as a third radical denoting a larger insect ('hornet') vs. MSA and various Afrasian forms based on a biradical root without \*-*r* denoting a smaller insect ('fly' etc.):

Sem. Hrs. *debēr*, Mhr. *dəbēr*, Jib. *edbīr* 'hornet, fly' (prob. also Soq. *édbehir* 'abeille') and, probably, Brb. (if -z- is <\*ž and not \*ʒ) Ahaggar *ăzənbîbər* 'esp. de de coleoptères' (4 cm long), Ayr E. Tawllemmet *əzəbbənər* 'bubreste' < Afras. \*žVbir- (v. in \*di/ab(b)ūr- 'bee, wasp', No. 66) vs. Mhr. *dəbbēt*, Hrs. *debbēt*, Jib. *dəbbōt*, Soq. *?edbībōh* 'fly' < Afras. \*žib(a)b- 'kind of flying insect': Brb. Ghat *a-zəb(b)*, Ahaggar *a-həb*, Ayr *e-zəb*, *izbəb*, E. Wlm. *i-zəbb*, Taneslemt *i-zəbb*, *a-šəbb*, *a-šbəb* 'mouche plate', Izayan *izeb* 'mouche de cheval', W. Chad. Hausa *žibā* 'small anthill', Ngizim *žəboa* 'bee', C. Chad. Bura *žeba* 'locust in the hopper state', Fali-Gili *žibi*, Bata *žébi* 'fly', E. Chad. Migama *?žimbé* 'bee, honey', E. Cush. Tsamai *zuba?ee* 'ant' (in \*dVb(V)b- 'fly', No. 73).

3. A Semitic quadriradical root with -r as a fourth radical denoting a larger insect ('hornet, wasp') vs. an Eth. triradical root denoting a smaller insect ('fly') probably related to Arb. and C. Chad. forms based on a biradical root:

Jud. *zibbōrā* 'bee, wasp', *zybwry* 'hornet', Mnd. *zimbura* 'hornet, bee', *zambura* 'wasp, hornet', Arb. *zanbūr-*, *zinbār-* 'guepe', Gez. *zanbir* 'hornet, wasp' vs. Gez. *zənb*, Tna. *zənbī*, Amh. *zəmb*, *zənb*, Arg. *zəmb*, Gaf. *zəmbä*, Har. *zəmbi*, Gur. (all dialects) *zəmb* 'fly', likely related to Arb. *zibb-* 'espèce de ver (fistularia vitata)', probably < Afras.: cf. C. Chad. Tera *zaḥā* 'termite' < \*ʒaHb- (v. in SED II No. 73).

4. A Semitic tri- or quadriradical root with -r as a last radical denoting measuring with a larger measure ('span') vs. an Akk. form based on a biradical root without \*-r denoting a smaller measure ('one-third cubit'):

Sem. \*š(x)n̥zr- 'to measure with the span (by turning a rope around one's palm)', \*š(x)VnzVr- (diff. in SED I No. 251): Hbr. *mošār* 'twisted' (hop., part.), Mnd. *šanziria* (pl.) 'the ropes', Arb. *šzr* 'retourner la main à droite en brandissant la lance; tordre, donner un tour de droite à gauche à la corde', Gez. *səz(ə)r* 'span', Tgr. *sənzər* 'palme', *sänzärä* 'mesura par palmes', Tna. *sänzärä* 'to measure with the span', Amh. *sənzər*, Har. *zunzurti*, Selti Wolane Zway *sənzər*, Chaha Ennemor Gyeto *zəsər*, etc. 'span', Mhr. *šeżər* 'span of thumb to forefinger', *hâzer* 'measure', Jib. (E.) *šeżr*, (C.) *šeżər* 'span between thumb and index', Soq. *šeżir* 'empan' vs. Akk. *šizū* 'one-third cubit' OB on (CAD š3 152; AHw 1254).

Note that a cubit equals to 45 cm. and one-third cubit to 15 cm., while a span to 22,5 cm.)

5. A Semitic triradical root with -r as a third radical denoting a larger measure (span) vs. bi- (in Aram. and pB. Hbr.) or triradical (in Arb.) forms without \*-r denoting what seems a smaller measure:

Sem. \*SVt(V)r- 'flat hand, span': Hbr. pB. *sṭr* 'to strike sideways, slap', Jud. *str* (*aph*) 'to strike with the flat hand', Mhr. *šeṭər* 'measure, span between the end of the thumb and the forefinger' vs. \*si(n)t- 'palm, span' (cf. in SED I No. 236): Hbr. pB. \*sīṭ in *ha-ssīṭ* 'the distance between the tip of the thumb and that of the index finger when held apart, or between the root of the thumb and the tip of the index finger when the former is leaning against the latter' (cf. *sēṭ* 'handle; swinging the forefinger'), Syr. *sīṭā* 'palmus', Arb. *sint-* 'poignet, os qui joint l'avant-bras à la main' (though Mhr. š points to \*š rather than to \*s, the coincidence in meaning with Hbr. \*sīṭ cannot be accidental); note the second meaning of the Hbr. term given by Jastrow: 'the distance...between

the root of the thumb and the tip of the index finger when the former is leaning against the latter' which implies a shorter distance than that implied by the Mhr. term.

6. A Central Cushitic triradical root with *-r* as a third radical denoting a larger creature ('boa snake') vs. Afrasian forms based on a biradical root without \*-*r* denoting a smaller creature ('kind of worm'):

C. Cush. Bilin *sabarā* (pl. *sáfal*) 'Schlangensorte, Art von Boa' (RBil. 294, Khamir *sibrā* (pl. *sibír*, *sibíl*) id. (RCham. 405) vs. Sem. (?) Akk. *šibbu* 'a snake' MB on (CAD Š2 375, AHw. 1226; not fully reliable), Gyt. *siba* 'kind of worm' (LGur. 531, acc. to Leslau, from Oromo), Cha. Eža *šiba*, Enm. *šiba*, Gyt. *šiba*, End. *šīwā* 'kind of worm' (ibid. 571), Hrs. *šebsébēt* 'small red worm, centipede' (JH 123), Mhr. *šebsib*, E. Jib. *šebséb* 'red waterworm' (JM 392) < Afras.: E. Chad. Lele *súbó* 'worm' (HSED No. 2227), E. Cush. Oromo *sibā* 'worm', Somali *sumbay* 'tapeworm' (Abr. Som. 228), v. in **\*šibb-** 'kind of snake, worm' (SED II No. 200).

7. An Ethiopian quadriliteral root with *-r-* as a second radical apparently denoting a larger output of substance ('squirt, spit') vs. a presumably common Semitic trilateral without \*-*r-* denoting a smaller output ('spit'):

Eth. *\*brşk* 'to spit out, vomit, squirt': Tgr. *bärçäkä* 'to spit out, to squirt through the lips', Tna. *bərçəkçək bäl* 'to feel nauseous, want to vomit', Amh. *tän/mboraççäkä* 'to spray, splatter (water being poured into a container)' vs. **\*bṣk** 'to spit' (cf. SED I Vb. No. 7): Arb. *bṣk* 'cracher', Selti *bəçək bälä* 'to spit'.

8. An Aramaic quadriradical root with *-r-* as a second radical denoting a larger measure ('long/full cubit') vs. a Semitic triradical root without \*-*r-* probably denoting a smaller measure ('short cubit'):

Aram. **\*garmīdā**: Jud. *garmīdā* 'arm, elbow, cubit', Syr. *ga/ūrmīdā*, *gūrmīdā* 'cubitus, ulna', Mnd. *garmidia* 'two cubits' vs. Hbr. *gōmäd* 'a linear measure, short cubit', likely <**\*kVm(V)d** 'forearm, cubit' (SED I No. 144): Akk. *gamatu* 'a measure' (<\**gamattu* <\**gamad-t-u* or <\**gamadu* with *-ad-* mistaken for the *-at-* suffix), (?) Arb. *kumuddat-* 'verge, pénis', Amh. *kənd* 'cubit (distance from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger, appr. 48 cm.); arm, forearm',

Gaf. *kəndä* 'bras', Mhr. *məkondēt* 'big toe, thumb', Jib. *mišəndj̥t* 'thumb, big toe'.

9. A Semitic quadriradical root with *-r-* as a second radical denoting a longer or larger object ('long, prominent nose, trunk') vs. a Semitic triliteral root without \*-*r-* denoting a smaller object ('nose'):

Sem. **\*bartūm- ~ \*burtīmm-** 'long nose, beak, trunk, snout' (cf. diff. in SED I No. 137): Akk. *butṭimmu* 'snout, muzzle' (-*tt* -< \*-*rt*-?), Hbr. pB. *haṛṭom* 'nose, beak', Syr. *haṛṭūmā* 'proboscis (elephant)', Mnd. *haṛṭum(a)* 'long bill, nose, snout, trunk', Arb. *haṛṭum-*, *haṛṭūm-* 'nez, bout du nez, tronc de l'éphant, etc.' vs. **\*buṭṭm-** 'nose, snout, muzzle, beak' (cf. diff. in SED I No. 139): Ugr. *ḥtm* 'nariz', Hbr. pB. *ḥōṭām* 'the distinctive feature of the face, nose, nostril', Jud. *ḥutmā* id., Arb. *ḥaṭm-* 'bec, museau'.

10. A Semitic quadri- (with *-l* as the fourth radical) or triliteral root with *-r-* as a second radical denoting what seems a larger object ('ankle') vs. Semitic forms without \*-*r-* based on a biliteral stem denoting a smaller object ('joint'):

Sem. **\*k<sup>w</sup>rs/s(-ull)-** 'ankle' (cf. SED I No. 169): Hbr. \*karsullayim 'ankles' (dual), Jud. *karsullā*, *karsūlā* 'ankles', Syr. *kurṣəlā* 'talus; ala, axilla', Tgr. *karso* 'ankle-bone (of men), fetlock (of animals)', Wol. *ənkərša* 'ankle', Gog. Sod. *ənkərša*, Mhr. *kərṣāt* 'kneecap' (-ā-points either to \*-aw or to \*-al) vs. **\*k<sup>w</sup>Vys-**, **\*k<sup>w</sup>Vss-** 'joint, point of connection between bones' (cf. SED I No. 172): (?) Akk. *kimṣu*, *kinṣu*, *kiṣṣu* 'knee, shin, calf of the leg', Arb. *kaṣāṣ-*, *kuṣāṣ-*, *kiṣāṣ-* 'endroit du derrière de la tête où les cheveux finissent; endroit de la poitrine où les côtes se rencontrent', *kaṣīṣ-* 'poitrine, os de la poitrine', *kaṣṣ-*, *kuṣaṣ-* id. (cf. *kays-* 'verge, pénis', with a plausible meaning shift 'joint' > 'penis'), Gez. *kʷəyṣ*, *kʷəṣ* 'leg, shin, shinbone, thigh', (?) Amh. *kəṭay* 'joint of foot', Gyeto *kəṭoyā* 'joint of foot', Soq. *mikṣeh* 'articulation, falangue'.

11. A Semitic triradical root with -r as a second radical denoting a larger object ('leg, shin') vs. bi- (in Aram. and pB. Hbr.) or triradical (in Arb.) forms without \*-r denoting what seems a smaller measure ('joint, hoof'):

Sem. **\*k<sup>w</sup>raṣ-** 'knee and shinbone; lower leg (of animal)' (SED I No. 157): Akk. *kurītu* 'shin (of animals)' (cf. *kirru*, *kerru* 'the region extending from the throat to and including the clavicles'), Hbr. *kərāṣayim* (du.) 'lower leg, fibula', Jud. *karṣā* 'knee, leg', Syr. *kərāṣā* 'crus', Mnd. *kraia* 'foot, leg', Arb. *kurāṣ-* 'partie la plus mince de la jambe entre le pied et le genou; os du tibia', Sab. *kr̥* 'leg of a camel', Gez. *kʷərnāṣ* 'elbow, forearm', Tna. *kʷərṇaṣ* 'elbow', Amh. *kərn* 'elbow, point of the elbow', Arg. *kərra* 'arm, elbow', Har. *kuru?* 'cubit, arm', Selti *kəre*, Wolane *həri*, Zway *hərə* 'arm, cubit, arm below the elbow', Gog. Sod. *kərrä* id. vs. **\*ku/aṣ(-at)-** or **\*kʷaṣ(-at)-** 'joint; ankle; foot' (SED I No. 140): Syr. *kōṣā* 'articulus', Arb. *kāṣ-*, *kūṣ-* 'condyle, surtout os de la main qui touche au puce ou au doigt articulaire; os de la cheville du pied, extrémité de l'os zind', Amh. *kotte* 'foot, hoof (of a horse)', Sod. *kotte* 'hoof'.

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